

MILITARY

ILLUSTRATED PAST & PRESENT

No.38

JULY 1991

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IRAQI REPUBLICAN
GUARD UNIFORMS

CANADIAN UNIFORMS
1808-1816

CAPE MOUNTED
RIFLEMEN, 1827-70

JACOBITE ARMY AT
CULLODEN, 1746

N.W. FRONTIER, 1919

TADEUSZ KOSCIUSZKO

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Our cover illustration shows a reconstruction of a private of the Canadian Fencibles in winter campaign dress — see article p.27 (Photo: Janice Lang)

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Our article on the Cape Mounted Riflemen is contributed by **Ian Castle**. Born in 1957, Ian is a council member of the Victorian Military Society, and an active founder member of the Napoleonic Association since 1975. He works freelance in the advertising industry, but gives a good deal of his time to English Heritage, for whom he works as a consultant. His main areas of research are the military history of South Africa, and the Austrian army of the Napoleonic period (in whose uniform he can occasionally be seen leading a small but determined unit at re-enactment events). His latest project has been the organisation — with 'MP' contributor Ian Knight — of battlefield tours of Zululand.

David Zabecki, whose piece on the 'legendary Kosciuszko fills our 'Gallery' slot this month, is a major in the US Army Reserve (Field Artillery). He served in Vietnam as an infantryman in 1967; is a graduate of the US Army Command and General Staff College (Gen. John J. Pershing Award, Distinguished Honor Graduate, 1988); holds an MA in history from Xavier University and an MS in Systems Management from the Florida Institute of Technology; and is a contributing editor to *Military History* and *World War II* magazines; editor of the *Encyclopedia of World War II in Europe*, in preparation by Garland Publishing, NY; and an Associate Member of the Royal Artillery Association, HQ Branch. He lives in Bexbach, Germany.

English Civil War 350th anniversary

In 1992 the 350th anniversary of the English Civil Wars will be upon us, and

EDITORIAL



Ian Castle



David Zabecki

will last until 2001. Museums all over the country are planning exhibitions and events of all kinds. To co-ordinate such events and establish a network of help and information an officer has been appointed to help museums produce joint commemorative travelling exhibitions and events. **Alison Taylor**

will be based at the Royal Armouries, HM Tower of London, EC3N 4AB (tel: 071-480-6358). She would welcome information from anyone involved in the collection, loan or replica manufacture of ECW period material, 1625-55, or who is involved in presenting demonstrations of crafts or combat skills, research or re-enactment. This project is funded by the Museum & Galleries Commission. Contact Ms. Taylor without delay if you think your firm or institution could contribute to, or benefit from, this co-ordinated effort.

The Battle for Crete: NAM Exhibition

From 17 May to 20 October 1991 the National Army Museum will be

showing a special exhibition marking the 50th anniversary of the battle of Crete. It includes full-scale reconstructions, and original vehicles, weapons, uniforms, maps, personal relics, and film; and a computer simulation challenges visitors to defend the island against German invasion. Also covered are the part played by the people of Crete, and Allied SOE agents, during the occupation of the island. (Whether the computer has a built-in feature to simulate Gen. Freyberg's controversial orders from Egypt and London — that he should risk the island rather than reveal the 'Ultra' intelligence intercepts which warned him of German invasion plans, by reacting to forestall them — is not clear...) For further information contact Julian Humphrys at the NAM, on 071-730-0717 ext. 216. Admission is free, 10.00 a.m. — 5.30 p.m.

'Desert Storm' knife

To commemorate the liberation of Kuwait Wilkinson Sword Ltd. have created a limited edition of their famous Fairbairn Sykes Commando knife. This has a matt black grip with a tempered stainless steel blade, embossed on both sides with suitable scrollwork. It is produced in two versions, one for the British forces and one for the United States forces; and is available in either a leatherette presentation case or the traditional Commando scabbard. The edition is limited to 500 of each pattern, and costs £98.50 inclusive of VAT and postage, from Wilkinson Sword Ltd., 11-13 Brunel Road, London W3 7UH; please mention **M** in any orders you place.



Video Releases to Buy:

'The Message' (Legend 15)

'Lion of the Desert' (Legend 15)

'Enola Gay' (Legend U)

The first two films suffered a delayed video release because of the Gulf war and their themes of conflict in the Arab world. *The Message* (1976) is set in Arabia in the seventh century, and tells the story of the last years of Mohammed and the spread of Islam. It was directed by Hollywood TV director Moustapha Akkad, who was born in Syria and educated in the USA, where he became a citizen. The screenplay, by English writer H.A.L. Craig — whose other screenplays include *Anzio* (1968), *The Adventures of Gerard* (1970), and *Waterloo* (1971) — was subjected to careful scrutiny by Arab scholars. Shooting began in Morocco, but political reasons made it necessary to move the production to Libya. Two versions were completed, one with an Arab-speaking cast and the other with an English-speaking cast.

The film begins in 610 AD when the 40-year-old Mohammed first proclaims the existence of a single deity, as the result of a vision. Abu Sofyan, the ruler of Mecca, concerned that this new religion will weaken his power, persecutes Mohammed's family and followers. They flee to Medina, where they are protected by the Christian king of Abyssinia. The resultant wars between the Arabs of Medina and Mecca result in a triumph for Islam.

We do not see Mohammed or hear his voice: his presence is signalled by the sight of his riding-stick or the reactions of his followers. While this treatment was obviously chosen out of a genuine reverence for the subject, the lack of a central character weakens the film dramatically. A vacuum is created which actors even of the stature of Anthony Quinn, playing the warrior Hamza who commands Mohammed's army, and Irene Papas, playing Sofyan's wife Hind, find hard to fill. There is no mention of Mohammed's massacre of the Qurayzah Jews and the enslavement of their women and children, nor of his several marriages after the death of his wife, including one to the daughter of his erstwhile enemy Abu Sofyan. This is presumably the result of a desire not to offend the Moslem community worldwide, for whom the film was most obviously intended.

The film features the battle of Bedr (624 AD) in which Mohammed's army retain control of the vital desert wells, and the battle of Uhud (625 AD), in which his army is defeated because of indiscipline amongst his troops. These climaxes bring some welcome visual spectacle; but the restricted camera positions fail to fully capitalise on the considerable number

of extras that were evidently available. Akkad, directing his first feature, lacks the inspiration which would lift the film out of the ordinary. However, it remains of some interest, if only because the story is little known in the West. Jack Hildyard — who photographed *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957) and *55 Days at Peking* (1963) — creates some striking sand-scapes; but Maurice Jarre's score pales in comparison with his own work on, for example, *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962).

Akkad was invited to complete the production in Libya, on condition that his next film was about Libya's great patriotic hero Omar Mukhtar, who led a 20-year struggle against the Italians after their occupation of the country in 1911. *Lion of the Desert* (1980) begins in 1929 when Benito Mussolini (Rod Steiger) orders his new military governor General Rudolpho Graziani (Oliver Reed) to crush Bedouin resistance led by Omar Mukhtar (Anthony Quinn). This was arguably the first military campaign in which a modern force of tanks, armoured cars and aircraft were used in the desert. To the horror of the more liberal Colonel Diodece (Raf Vallone), Graziani consigns many of the civilian population to vast concentration camps. With the superior technology at his disposal

Graziani wins an easy victory at Kufra, but suffers a humiliating defeat when his army is trapped in the gorge at Wadi el Kuf. Mussolini summons Graziani to Rome to discuss regaining the initiative. Massive barbed wire entanglements are built across the country to disrupt the guerrillas' supply lines and force them into the open.

The film again features a screenplay by H.A.L. Craig, photography by Jack Hildyard, and a score by Maurice Jarre. It was mostly shot on location in Libya and Rome. Working replicas of vintage tanks, armoured cars, and troop carriers were built in Cornwall by the Military Vehicle Museum Ltd. Some effort was made to ensure the accuracy of the Italian uniforms, down to the headgear peculiar to each regiment. The film features fine performances by Reed, Quinn and Vallone, and Rod Steiger plays Mussolini for a second time — the first had been in *The Last Days of Mussolini* (1974). John Gielgud makes a typically brief appearance as Sharif el Gariani, a collaborator. Akkad directs in a more assured style than in his earlier project, and the film includes several well-conceived battle-scenes.

David Lowell Rich's *Enola Gay* is a television movie based on the best-selling book by Gregory Thomas and Max Gordon Witts. Like Norman Turog's *The Beginning or the End* (1947) and Melvin Frank and Norman Panama's *Above and Beyond* (1953), it

ON THE SCREEN

concerns the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Patrick Duffy plays Lt. Col. Paul Tibbets, who is authorised by General Groves to train airmen from whom ten will be selected for the top-secret mission. Among them is Lt. Jacob Beser (Billy Crystal), an engineering expert, and Capt. Bob Lewis (Gregory Harrison), a long-standing friend of Tibbets. Most of the film concerns the nine months of intensive training at the

509th Composite Group's remote Wendover Army Air Base in Utah. Final training takes place at the island airbase of Tinian, from where the mission will begin. On 6 August 1945 the B-29 *Enola Gay* (named after Tibbets' mother) takes off to drop its lethal cargo on Hiroshima.

Producers Franklin Levy and Stephen Kallis acquired three B-29s for the film, as well as two C-47 transports and a Lockheed P-38 fighter.

Most of the film was shot at the Davis-Monthon Air Force Base in Tucson, Arizona, on which several World War Two period buildings remained. Tibbets acted as advisor to director Rich, who was himself a B-29 navigator.

At two-and-a-half hours the film would have benefited from tighter editing, particularly of sequences involving Tibbet's marital problems, and others concerning a young

Japanese officer in Hiroshima. The film succeeds well enough as a drama-documentary, but the script, and Patrick Duffy's performance, fail to convey any moral dilemma experienced by Tibbets. However, the film features aerial photography by Clay Lacy, who later worked on *Top Gun* (1986), and a jaunty marching theme composed yet again by Maurice Jarre.

Stephen J. Greenhill

When the word auction is mentioned most collectors of militaria, arms and armour think only of the big London houses and a few well-known names elsewhere in the country. What they should not forget is that there are many other rooms of various sizes dotted about the map. Reference to a specialist newspaper such as the *Antiques Trade Gazette* will soon dispel any idea that there are only a limited number of auction rooms: there are pages of adverts and notices of forthcoming sales throughout the country from Scotland to Cornwall.

While the majority of the rooms do not specialise in arms, armour or militaria it can often prove worthwhile to keep an eye on them. To the uninitiated, and that means most people, the idea of using one of the famous rooms to dispose of their treasures, which may well include some items of interest to collectors of military material, is remote. Most people will take the convenient way and patronise the local auctions. These rooms will usually accept almost anything that they consider saleable, but there may be difficulty in describing some items. They may well have a few specialist and experienced cataloguers, but they may be handling items that fall outside their usual expertise. This usually means that they will be cataloguing by guess or reference to books.

To the casual researcher it is dreadfully easy to make mistaken comparisons and to draw wrong conclusions from text and pictures dealing with subjects that one is unfamiliar with. To describe a pepperbox as 'a revolving barrel pocket pistol' is not exactly the way that a collector would see it, but it is more or less accurate and near enough to the right description to pass muster. The biggest problem for these rooms comes with the really unusual object that is not easily identifiable. If there is time they will check with local museums, the London rooms or other expert sources, but deadlines in producing catalogues may often prevent this. This may well mean that, on occasions, it is possible that an object of great interest, a real 'sleeper', will slide past the catalogue. This is one of the reasons for keeping an eye on local sales. It is unlikely that a real find will occur very often, but it is certainly possible that bargains can be acquired because the catalogue description has missed some vital point which is only apparent when examined. Equally it must be said that the general opinion of the trade is that the run-of-the-mill items of arms and armour will probably make more at these local sales than they would fetch at a specialist sale. Part of the reason is that the buyers are

unfamiliar with the current market values and simply buy because they want the piece.

The dealers naturally keep an eye on the catalogues of these local sales; and there are agencies that will regularly monitor catalogues, seeking anything that has any connection with a nominated subject. If there is the possibility of something turning up many of the London dealers or their representatives will make the journey to visit the local rooms, so it is not surprising to see familiar faces at these sales.

Phillips held a sale at Sevenoaks in March which included a Nock blunderbuss with spring bayonet which sold for £820, almost certainly the same as it would have made at a London sale. A cased pair of percussion pistols, described as target weapons but more realistically called travelling pistols, made £1,150; again, about right for the object.

The larger rooms are still finding it hard to acquire good material in quantity for their regular sales and this has led to cancelled and postponed sales. When they do appear, genuinely rare pieces continue to sell well: at a Sotheby's sale in April a Schulof — a very early self-loading pistol — fetched £5,500. The big coming attraction is the second part of the Visser sale to be held by Sotheby's on 3 June at their London Rooms; this will complete the sale of this outstanding private collection. The catalogue is a particularly fine production with superb colour plates, and the objects are of the finest quality. The first part of the sale which was held in the middle of last year saw some very high prices, and it will be interesting to see what happens this time, when the buying market is showing signs of picking up.

The London Arms Fair took place at the end of April and this is often a useful barometer as to the state of the market. Attendance seemed to be well up to standard and there was some very good material on display. In general the rise in prices seemed to have slowed and there were items which seemed, if not cheap, at least reasonable. The dealers' reactions were, as always, mixed, with some saying that they had a good fair while others claimed to have done badly. The amount of purchases coming out through the door would suggest that on the whole trade was quite healthy.

One noticeable feature was the number of deactivated firearms on offer, ranging from small Czech self-loaders up to full-sized Vickers

machine guns on their tripods. It is surprising how much of this material is on offer via mail order firms as well as through events such as these fairs; and even small regional meets like the monthly fair at Warnham in Sussex usually include two or three tables of 'de-acs', ranging from the mundane to the quite exotic. Prices are not cheap, ranging from around £60 for a pistol, around £90-£120 for a good rifle, to £300 and upwards for the more desirable automatic weapons; a good Thompson sub-machine gun, for instance, can fetch nearly £500.

The appeal of these items may be hard for the purist firearms collector to appreciate; but the fact is that the recent changes in the law, which recognized the deactivated category as falling outside the traditional licensing requirements, have made such externally authentic weapons available to a large number of potential collectors for the first time. The appeal to such collectors of completing a soldier's uniform and kit with an externally authentic weapon is strong enough to support the current prices. How long this will persist as they become every more widely available, and the long-term effect upon their prices, must remain to be seen.

Frederick Wilkinson

THE AUCTION SCENE

SALE BY TENDER July 5th 1991

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RATES: 35p per word; minimum charge £5.25 (up to 25 words). Semi-display boxed, £7.00 per single column centimetre; minimum charge, £21.00 (up to 3cm deep, single column); double for boxes across two column widths.

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REVIEWS

'Tale of a Guinea Pig' by Geoffrey Page, DSO, DFC; Wingham Press; 218 pp; 17 photos, 16 illus., index; £15.00

In the wake of 1990's veritable orgy of 50th anniversary Battle of Britain commemorative publishing, there is no shortage of pilots' personal memoirs in the bookshops — indeed, a number of autobiographies have been re-issued; and *Tale of a Guinea Pig*, first published in 1981, is one of these.

In a simple and very readable style, Page conveys all the tremulous anticipation of the early days of the Phoney War — the undoubted eagerness of dedicated flyers to show what the RAF could do. Accounts of flying, both in training and combat, are vivid and graphic, from his first sorties in a Hawker Hind, to his graduation to Spitfires, then later Hurricanes — culminating in his bailing out, terribly burned, from his blazing aircraft, and his unceremonious descent into the Channel in August 1940.

Page joins the ranks of plastic surgeon Archie McIndoe's 'Guinea Pigs', and his story departs the realms of the simply courageous and becomes heroic. Only one who experienced the long months of excruciating pain and repeated skin grafting operations can claim to understand what this mixed bunch of burns victims experienced.

The *'Tale'* inevitably invites comparison with *The Last Enemy* — the autobiography of another pioneer Guinea Pig, Richard Hillary. The similarity ends, however, with their common experience under the knife of McIndoe. Not for Page the soul-searching over the whys and wherefores of a pilot's motivation in the conflict. Page's approach is without or cynicism, and his aims and motives are clear — to return to operational flying despite his years in hospital (a feat he achieved in 1944), and to satisfy the terrible lust for revenge which that time engendered in him.

Overcoming the terrors of returning to the sky, Page pursues his target of one German 'kill' for every one of the eleven operations he had undergone. Flying throughout the 'Overlord' operation and, from bases in France, supporting the advancing Allies through France to Holland, Page recalls the moment of reaching his personal target — and the anticlimax and sense of hollow victory which accompanied it and endured to the end of his combat career.

A dedicated founder-member of the new world-wide Guinea Pig Club, Page has done much to promote the growing organisation and its goals of healing and rehabilitating burns victims. The Club is a lasting memorial to the brilliant surgeon who inspired it; Page dedicates his book to Archie McIndoe, 'whose surgeon's fingers gave me back my pilot's hands'. Royalties from the sale of the book will go to the Battle of Britain Memorial Trust, established by Geoffrey Page to build a monument to 'the Few' on the White Cliffs of Dover. **AVT**

'The Boer War in Postcards' by Ian McDonald; Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd; 179 pp incl. 110 pp. of illustrations, eight in colour; £14.95

Picture postcards became a popular means of communication not long before the outbreak of the Boer War, and consequently became much used as a medium for recording the events and personalities of the war and expressing attitudes towards its rights and wrongs, not only in Britain but in Europe as well. The general tenor of the cards issued at the time differed markedly according to their country of origin: in Britain they were mostly patriotic and supportive of the war effort, though not necessarily anti-Boer; in Europe, particularly in France, Holland and Germany — all eager for a dig at the British Empire — they were either simply pro-Boer or satirically humorous at Britain's expense. When the tide of war began to turn in Britain's favour the European cards became less humorous and more acid; while in Britain, as the war dragged on into 1902, few new cards were issued, suggesting a general war-weariness, until at the end the tone of the cards became one of conciliation.

Ian McDonald, the author of this original book, has been collecting postcards as historical documents for over 20 years and has assembled some 200 cards issued during the war from different sources. The book has eleven chapters outlining the war's causes, phases and aftermath, which are interleaved with sections illustrating examples of cards relevant to the preceding chapter, with commentaries on each card; some cards are reproduced a second time in the eight pages of colour. There are four appendices: a background to the postcard industry, a chronology of the war compared with card issues and usage; the publishing details of each card illustrated; and a note on collecting, including values. There is a bibliography but no index. In all it presents a little-known aspect of the war and, as the author says, 'an old postcard is a capsule of history'.

There are, unfortunately, some signs of careless proof-reading/printing. On p.69 the author — or the postcard writer — has confused the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons with the 6th Dragoon Guards. The reviewer also wonders whether colloquialisms like 'couldn't', 'wasn't', 'didn't' are suitable for a serious work of non-fiction. Finally a dubious piece of terminology, by no means confined to this book nowadays, on which this reviewer would welcome enlightenment: when do 'weapons' become 'weaponry' and why?

Apart from these minor blemishes, this is a well-produced book of pleasing appearance, and an interesting addition to the literature of the Second Boer War. Readers of this journal, however, should perhaps note that this book's emphasis is, as its title makes plain, on postcards, and not on military aspects of the war. **MJB**

'Stand Down: Orders of Battle for units of the Home Guard of the United Kingdom, November 1944'; compiled by L.B. Whittaker; published by Ray Westlake Military Books, 53 Claremont, Malpas, Newport, Gwent NP9 6PL; 153pp., 16 illus.; £16.50 + £1.35 P&P

This book should find a place on the shelves of anyone interested in the Crown forces, the defence of the realm, the Second World War, or military insignia. After five years of painstaking research Mr. Whittaker has produced an important and very readable book. It covers the Home Guard from inception in May 1940 as the LDV, to stand-down on 1 November 1944. It is from the 1944 period, when the Home Guard was at its zenith, that the author has compiled his impressive orbats.

Some 25pp. are devoted to fascinating material on the origins, development, history and statistics of the Home Guard, much of it never before extracted from official documents. As a hint of the flavour: details are given of the 100,000 pikes issued in the early days; of 33,623 shotguns and 150,000 rubber truncheons in service on 1 January 1942, and 899 flamethrowers added that September; of 900 horses used for mounted patrols; of waterway patrols; of taxis, cars, buses and motorcycles pressed into service with the numerous Motor Transport Companies, and so forth. At its peak in late 1942 the Home Guard numbered 1,850,757 men — but no women: but the author tackles the subject of the Women's Home Defence and Women's Auxiliary Section.

Anti-aircraft defence eventually absorbed nearly 150,000 men of the Home Guard; Auxiliary Bomb Disposal Squads were formed at factories; bands were raised — and to a limited extent unit colours are known to have been made and paraded. Foreign contingents were also formed, the most famous one from among American citizens living in the UK, who put on British battledress almost 18 months before Pearl Harbor.

The vexed question of a Home Guard medal is aired, as is the surprisingly high casualty list among the Home Guard — nearly 500 killed or died of wounds due to enemy action and rather more wounded. The bulk of the book lists Home Guard units as of 1 November 1944 in alphabetic geographical order and other appropriate formats. Comprehensive details are given of affiliations, cap badges, county distinguishing letters and numbers as worn on BD. The book will entertain and educate, and has a real claim to unique interest when seen against the mass of military titles published today: an essential reference to the subject, highly recommended. Stocks are not unlimited, so buy it while you can. **BLD**

'The Waters of Oblivion: The British Invasion of the Rio de la Plata, 1806-1807' by Ian Fletcher; Spellmount Ltd., Tunbridge Wells, Kent; 172pp.; 18 illus., plus 12 maps; index, biblio, appendices; £15.95

As we go to press we receive a copy of this study of one of the British Army's most fascinating disasters. The major expedition to what is now Argentina in the period immediately before the Peninsular War, in divisional strength, and including officers such as Craufurd, Pack, and Beresford, was a spectacular failure despite real advantages and some promising gains. Its defeat by Spanish regulars and local volunteers and conscripts shocked contemporary British opinion; indeed, even a Spanish general judged that 'half the number of troops which attacked this capital would make themselves masters of it, supposing the same defenders, equally armed and disciplined... I will rather say that ten thousand English sheep came to present their throats to the knife'. The story of how this judgement became credible, through a combination of bad luck, bad choices, and an almost malicious incompetence in some quarters, is told readably and in detail (though carelessly edited for grammar and syntax), drawing on both British and Spanish records. The performance of the unfortunate Gen. Whitelocke, and his self-willed second-in-command Gen. Gower, is laid bare; and the useful appendices include details of the subsequent court martial findings. The maps include sketches allowing the reader to follow the house-to-house fighting in La Reconquista and La Defensa easily. This is a useful book, giving details of an episode interesting in itself, and as a formative influence in the careers of several of Wellington's Peninsula commanders. Recommended. **MCW**

'The Generals of Saratoga: John Burgoyne and Horatio Gates' by Max M. Mintz; Yale University Press; ix + 278 pp., illus., maps; £19.95

Together with the later surrender at Yorktown, the defeat of a British force at Saratoga in October 1777 was not only one of the most serious defeats of a British army in the second half of the 18th century, but proved that the American colonists were capable of sustaining a major military effort. This new study of the Saratoga campaign is based around the careers of the opposing commanders: "Gentleman John" Burgoyne and Horatio Gates.

The contrast between the two might appear something of a cliché — Burgoyne the aristocrat, and Gates the poor boy (though conceivably the natural son of the Duke of Leeds). The fact that both were English, and that they had served together in the same regiment, is more intriguing. It was as if, as the author states in a phrase which recalls Canning, "destiny had reunited them in the New World to reverse the order of the 18th".

The Generals of Saratoga presents a new account of the campaign (including interesting new lights on the events and personalities involved), and recounts the careers of the protagonists, clearly benefiting from extensive research. The commanders were very different not only in origin: Burgoyne, with real literary ability (his play *The*

continued on page 8

REVIEWS

Continued from page 6

Heiress was a triumph), who as MP for Preston was elected by the widest male franchise in Britain; Gates, who abandoned his British allegiance to rise to high command in the American army, and often stated as possessing the most foul personality imaginable: Hoffman Nickerson in *The Turning Point of the Revolution* (1928) declared him so repellent that at that date he still had no biography. (Samuel Patterson's *Horatio Gates*, 1941, filled the gap). Fortescue, perhaps less surprisingly, classed Gates and Lee as equally "a discredit to the country alike of their birth and of their adoption". Different aspects of Gates's personality are evident here, such as his concern for the welfare of the Indian peoples, and his justified criticism of the British encouragement of the Indians to massacre American rebels. Whether or not Gates was obsessed with his lowly origin; whether his success was actually built upon the efforts of his predecessor Schuyler; and whether he was implicated in the supposed "Conway Cabal" to supplant Washington (probably not, though doubtless he would not have been adverse to taking advantage of it), this work presents a new perspective which is very welcome.

The military pedant might pick up minor points which could be argued: the lowest commissioned rank in the cavalry was cornet, not "coronet" (p.6); the 16th Light Dragoons wore scarlet, not crimson with "dun-coloured waistband" (?), p.26; the 47th Foot wore white facings, not yellow (p.134); the implication (p.6) that the Royal Dragoons were newly-formed in 1744 is misleading (actually raised 1661). Perhaps it might be thought a shade unfair to criticize Burgoyne for holding an elaborate engagement party for his nephew in June 1774 as representing "the casual, pleasure-as-usual attitude of the British aristocracy in the midst of the American crisis", as if the normal pleasures of civilized life should have been abandoned because of what was regarded at that time as a minor agitation half a world away. Such minor points, however, should not detract from a most interesting and lively account of a significant campaign and its protagonists. **PJH**

'The Civil War in Lancashire' by Stephen Bull; Lancashire County Books, 143 Corporation Street, Preston; 32pp. illus. throughout; p/bk, £2.50

This short but attractively produced booklet has been written to complement the exhibition of the same name at Lancashire County and Regimental Museum in Preston. Although necessarily limited in detail, a surprising amount of information is packed into the very readable text, covering both the situation in Lancashire before the outbreak of war, and the events which followed. The illustrations are well chosen, with examples of swords and armour from the Castle Museum at York, and some rarely seen portraits. **SAR**

'British Land Rovers in the Gulf' by Bob Morrison; LRQ Books, The Hollies, Botesdale, Diss, Norfolk IP22 1BZ; 64pp, colour illus. throughout; large format p/bk; £7.99

A very rapid piece of work, this cleanly produced 'fat magazine' offers enthusiasts and modellers some 120 good quality colour close-up photos of a very wide range of Land Rover variants on service with the British Army in the Gulf, from the 88in. Lightweight to the One-Thirty ambulance and the One Tonne Rapier Tractor. **JS**

'In the Peninsula with a French Hussar' by A.J.M. de Rocca; Greenhill Books; 192pp., maps; £17.50

The latest in Greenhill Books' most valuable "Napoleonic Library" series of reprints is something of a departure from previous titles, in that it concerns one of the lesser-known first-hand accounts, originally published as *Mémoires sur la Guerre des Français en Espagne* in 1814, with this version taken from the 1815 English edition. The author, Albert Jean Michel de Rocca, was a Swiss subaltern of the French 2nd Hussars (the old Regt. Chamborant), perhaps best known as the last husband of Madame de Stael, whose affairs occupied the last years of the young hussar's life following his invaliding from the army.

Albert de Rocca's account of his military service concentrates on that part of the Peninsular War least often covered in British sources: the French operations against the Spanish army and guerrillas. Although present at Medellin, de Rocca missed his regiment's service against the British at Talavera (being at home recruiting and opposing the Walcheren landing), and was shot by guerrillas ten months before the 2nd Hussars' famous charge at Albuera.

Thus, de Rocca's account is of especial interest in focussing attention on this aspect of the war, and forms a useful addition to the better-known accounts of Marbot and Parquin (both reprinted by Greenhill). It is especially interesting to note de Rocca's comment that the only information about the war upon which he could rely was that obtained during residence in Britain — further proof of the untruths perpetuated in French official despatches. Despite a gallant career in Spain, in which de Rocca maintained the highest traditions of the French hussars, he emerged thoroughly disillusioned with "an unjust and inglorious war, where the sentiments of my heart continually disavowed the evil my arm was condemned to do" — feelings which were not unique among the French in Spain, and which reflect well upon those who held them.

Although it is perhaps unusual to recommend a book to which the reviewer contributed a brief introduction, this title is one which should not be overlooked by Napoleonic enthusiasts. **PJH**

Osprey Men-at-Arms series: 48pp., approx. 35 b/w illus., 8 colour plates; p/bk., £5.99

MAA 234 'German Combat Equipment 1939-45' by Gordon L. Rottman, plates Ron Volstad.

This book, in the same style as the author's MAA 205 on the equivalent US equipments of the period since 1914 (also admirably illustrated by Ron Volstad), is devoted to the personal equipment, and in the case of the cavalry some saddle equipment, of the German soldier of World War Two: i.e. the belts, pouches, packs, and ancillary field equipment items. It covers the equipment of the infantryman, cavalryman, mountain infantryman, assault pioneer, signaller and medical orderly in great detail, and will be valuable to modeller, picture researcher and collector alike. It contains information on special weapons accessories; and the pioneer, signals and medical sections are particularly welcome. The long text is illustrated with a mixture of period photos (some of poor quality), and close-up studio shots of surviving items, which are generally well produced. Mr. Volstad's astonishing plates contain a few full-length figure studies, but are mostly occupied by dozens of paintings of individual equipment items. Colour reproduction seems too 'warm' (too yellow/red) to this reviewer, and Mr. Volstad's work deserves better; but although readers should use caution in interpreting exact shades, it is still extremely attractive and useful. Recommended. **JS**

Osprey Elite series: 64pp., approx. 45 b/w illus., 12 colour plates; p/bk, £7.50

E35 'Early Samurai 200-1500 AD' by Anthony J. Bryant, plates Angus McBride.

This title covers the political and military history — as far as it can be interpreted — and the development of armour from the semi-mythical days of the 2nd century Yayoi culture to the true samurai of the late 14th century — extending the title to '1500' seems dubious. It is thus a 'prequel' to Mr. Bryant's excellent E23 in this series, also illustrated by Mr. McBride. More than half the book is devoted to the armour, and is detailed, authoritative, and clear. The illustrations mix photos of beautiful Japanese figure models, reconstruction drawings, many types of surviving armour and helmet, and meticulous historical reconstructions destroyed in Japan during the Second World War. The colour plates range from the semi-legendary queen-priestess Himiko to portraits of named samurai-armoured magnates of the 14th century wars. In some of the very early subjects Mr. McBride is clearly obliged to reconstruct from fairly sparse information, but they are never less than intriguing; the later plates are much more confident, and reflect the dazzling colour and complexity of classical Japanese military costume. Recommended. **JS**

CARDS and PRINTS

New postcards from the National Army Museum, Royal Hospital Road, London SW3 4HT; eight cards, each 15p plus appropriate



One of the available single cards by Alix Baker (see SC's review under 'Cards & Prints') depicting a trumpeter, The Royal Hussars (PWO), 1991.

postage.

The NAM has a large collection of postcards available from their shop, and these additions to the range are very welcome. Two cards are from aquatints after Lt. Col. Charles Hamilton Smith, published in 1815, one showing Native Troops in the East India Company's service and the other two members of the Royal Artillery. As an artist genuinely contemporary with the Napoleonic Wars Smith is well regarded by military historians.

Two further cards show volunteer uniforms of different periods; the earlier example, dated 1804, shows the Staffordshire Militia on parade at Windsor Castle from an oil painting by Arthur William Devis. This carefully constructed scene, in precise detail, manages to show the Sergeant Major (rarely shown in contemporary illustrations), the Drum Major, musicians, a sergeant of a battalion company, and an officer, sergeant and privates of the grenadier company. The second of the volunteer cards shows the Artists Rifles in camp, 1884, from an oil painting by Godfrey Merry; this very attractive card manages to show the volunteers in various orders of dress and activity in careful detail.

Two other cards are nonetheless attractive for being more artistic than detailed. The first shows the 5th Gurkha Rifles at the battle of Peiwar Kotal, 1878, from an oil by Vereker Hamilton — an all-action scene full of exciting movement. The other card is entitled 'Their Majesties visiting the battle district of France, 1917', from an oil painting by Frank O. Salisbury. It is very broadly painted, and I cannot say

this particular card excited my imagination at all.

The final pair of cards are beautiful examples of the work of a true military artist: A-J. Dubois Drahonet (see article in *'MI'* No.33). They show named officers of the 1st Life Guards and the Royal Artillery in 1833; and readers who saw the illustration on the cover of *'MI'* No.33 will need no description of their appeal. Like almost 100 others, these paintings were executed for King William IV and are reproduced by gracious permission of HM The Queen.

SC

'The Road to Waterloo'; set of 6 postcards; National Army Museum, address as above; £1.50 plus P&P 25p

This set of cards are from photographs of some of the full-size figures which form part of the new NAM permanent exhibition under this title. The work of Gerry Embleton's Time Machine company, they were in part illustrated in *'MI'* No.31, and readers who have visited the exhibition will know that the impact of these reconstructions is astounding. Gone are the limp-wristed, pursed-lip mannequins too often used in museums; these are the men you would expect to see wearing the King's uniform in the early 19th century. The cards show the figures in natural surroundings, which add a further element of realism. Included in this selection are: Rifleman, 95th Regiment, 1808; Officer, 2nd Dragoons, KGL, Spain, 1812; Private, 13th Regiment, St. Domingo, 1795; Recruiting Sergeant, 68th Regiment, 1808; Private, De Roll's Regiment, Egypt, 1801; and lastly, and most poignant of all, a demobilised veteran of the 27th Regiment, 1819.

SC

Alix Baker: three sets of six postcards of the British Army, available from The Scarlet Gunner, Post House, Andover, Hants SP11 0ND; Sets 11 & 12, £2.00 each; Set 13, £2.20; P&P UK & BAOR incl., extra elsewhere.

These excellent postcard sets by Alix Baker are executed in the clean and precise style for which she is known. All have been produced at the request of the regiments, and are limited to 2,000 sets each — this is sure to confirm the collectability of this lady's work, marked by a sympathetic approach to the subjects in keeping with her military family background. Set 11 depicts the current uniforms of The Light Infantry; all ranks, in various orders of dress. Set 12 shows today's Royal Hussars and their forbears the 10th and 11th Hussars at various periods and in various orders of dress. Set 13 is devoted to The Royal Regiment of Wales; five cards depict current uniforms of different ranks in various orders of dress, and the sixth the Regimental Mascot, Taffy III. There is an enlarged version of Taffy III, 8in. x 6in., suitable for framing at 50p plus suitably sized SAE. It is worth sending an SAE to The Scarlet Gunner for lists of existing sets in this series and of available single cards, prints and plates. I strongly recommend the new sets for your collection.

SC

LETTERS

Seven Years' War Grenadiers

The well-known series of paintings by the Swiss artist David Morier are arguably the finest and certainly the best-known images of George II's army, but it is important that they should be accurately dated (*'MI'* Nos. 36, 37). The cavalry and grenadier paintings are commonly dated to 1751 on the grounds that they appear to illustrate the uniforms prescribed in the Royal Warrant of that year; but close examination and analysis of both series suggests an earlier date.

It may be as well to begin by noting that there is in fact no reason why Morier should not have taken a soldier from each regiment as a model. While the army was of course widely dispersed, even those regiments posted abroad maintained a presence (often substantial) in the British Isles in the form of recruiting parties and non-effectives forming a rudimentary depot. Obtaining a soldier from each corps would not therefore have been unduly difficult given the Duke of Cumberland's involvement.

The grenadier paintings can conveniently be divided into three groups of varying style:

Group (a) comprises six paintings, depicting the 1st to 15th and the 28th, 29th and 30th Foot. Although competently executed the style is rather stiff. It would have been logical for Morier to have begun with the 1st (Royals); and an early date for this group is suggested by the fact that only three grenadiers out of 18 have wings on their shoulders, as against slightly less than half in groups (b) and (c) — wings became mandatory for all but one regiment in 1753. It would also appear that this group was painted in winter, since 13 out of the 18 have their lapels buttoned over. Of the 26 soldiers in the other groups (discounting four lacking lapels) only two have their lapels buttoned over.

Group (b) comprises five paintings, depicting the three regiments of Foot Guards, the 16th to 24th Foot and the 31st, 32nd and 33rd Foot. In contrast to group (a) these figures are full of vitality, and depicted against a backdrop of camp scenes apparently painted from life. They appear to be contemporary with a large canvas of officers and men of the Royal Artillery which can be positively identified as having been painted at Roermond in April 1748. Indeed, the last canvas in the group includes a sullen-looking woman wearing Dutch clogs — and a battalion company soldier disappearing over a fence with a chicken under his arm! It is significant that all but three of the regiments depicted in this group were serving in Flanders in 1748. The odd three out — 16th, 17th and 18th Foot — are all on one canvas, and at first sight present a problem. Featured very prominently in the centre of the painting is an Austrian soldier puffing on his pipe as he watches the artist at work. Upon closer examination, however, it is apparent that the three grenadiers do not fit very com-

fortably on the canvas. Those belonging to the 16th and 17th are crammed together with a drummer to one side, while the grenadier of the 18th, with nearly half the painting to himself, has obviously been imposed upon it at some later date.

Group (c) comprises seven paintings, depicting the 25th, 26th, 27th and 34th through to 49th Foot; and although rather less stiff than those in group (a) they are depicted against a studio backdrop. The numbering of certain units, e.g. the 42nd Highlanders, indicates that at least some of the figures were painted after the reductions which followed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. None of the disbanded regiments are included. This is not the case, however, with the complementary cavalry series, and at least two of the regiments must have been painted before the summer of 1748. In both instances — the 7th and 15th Dragoons — the troopers concerned wear the Allied field sign of a spring of green leaves in their hats, which the first is unlikely to have worn after this date and the second certainly will not have done since it was disbanded that summer.

If it is accepted that group (b) was indeed, with one exception, painted in Flanders in the spring of 1748, as the backgrounds indicate, then a chronology for the series can be deduced. The 1st to 15th Foot were painted in Morier's London studio over the winter of 1747-48, as evidenced by the lapels of most soldiers being buttoned over for warmth. In the spring of 1748 Morier crossed over to Flanders where he painted the Royal Artillery, at least two cavalry regiments, a variety of foreign units, and four of the five canvases in group (b), beginning with the 19th Foot. The three missing regiments — the 16th to 18th Foot — will have been added on his return to London, using an already prepared canvas; and work will then have commenced on group (c), which was probably finished by the end of the year.

In short, this analysis suggests that the whole series must have been painted in 1748, not 1751, and illustrates the draft regulations of 1747, though they show differences in point of detail afterwards incorporated in the 1751 Royal Warrant.

Stuart Reid
21 Chirton West View
North Shields
Northumberland NE26 0EP

Luke O'Connor

Your readers may be interested in some additional details about the career of Luke O'Connor, subject of your April Gallery article. The 2nd Battalion of the 23rd, raised in 1858, served during the 1860s in Gibraltar and then in Canada, where they were sent during the *Trent* Affair. A fine photograph of Captain O'Connor in full dress was taken in Montreal by William Notman in 1867 (#26289). The original is in the Notman Photographic Collection at the McCord Museum, along with those of several other officers of the regiment. (It is hoped that this will be included in a forthcoming *Osprey Men-at-Arms* title on troops in Canada.)

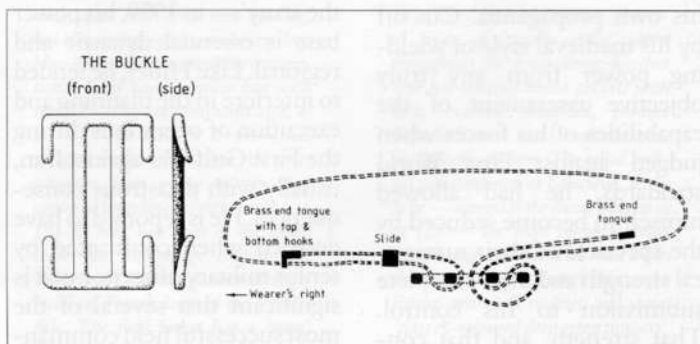
The Notman Collection has an extensive coverage of British uniforms of the 1860s, in particular winter dress. Many officers and some Other Ranks of the large British garrison went to his studio — the Grenadier Guards, Scots Fusilier Guards, Military Train, Staff, Commissariat, 78th Highlanders, 60th Rifles and the Rifle Brigade amongst others.

David Ross
Military Curator
Canadian Parks Service
Winnipeg, Canada

Pattern 1908 belt

I have noticed that most military artists, TV and film dressers, and military museum exhibition staff do not know the correct way to buckle a Pattern '08 webbing belt. If the belt were buckled in the manner shown in, e.g., *'MI'* No. 29, p.26-27 and p.30, 'The First Contingent, CEF, 1914' Pt.2, it would become loose in a very short time, and the heavy ammunition pouches would soon swing free, making it hard to extract cartridges. The photo on p.25 shows the belt correctly fastened. The method is as follows, and as shown in the accompanying sketch: Assemble the buckle to the right (as worn) end of the belt, adjust for length, and fit end hooks over the top and bottom edges. Slide runner along to buckle. The left end of the belt is passed through the centre of the buckle from the rear, pulled tight, and passed left and back, pinched under the two wings at the left. It is then passed right and forward, back through the centre of the buckle and to the left inside the belt. Having worn this belt 1937-40 I can assure you that it will not slip if locked in this manner.

A. Maddock
(address supplied)



THE IRAQI ARMY, 1990-91

SAMUEL M. KATZ, with additional material
by GARY CURTIS and STEPHEN BULL
Paintings by PETER DENNIS

Four months after the rout of the Iraqi forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq by the American-led coalition forces in Operation 'Desert Storm', the actual strengths and dispositions of the Iraqi formations deployed in-theatre remain clouded by uncertainty. The striking disparity between their claimed size and the number of prisoners taken, and between their claimed capabilities and actual performance in battle, pose questions which may never be answered. This brief review of Iraqi army organisation was largely prepared during the early days of 'Desert Storm' and reflects information then available⁽¹⁾. The notes on uniform practice do not pretend to be comprehensive, but are based on physical and pictorial evidence dating from the immediate aftermath of the fighting, and may be relied upon as far as they go.

According to one Western intelligence analyst, 'Saddam Hussein made a tragic miscalculation when he ordered the Iraqi army into Kuwait on 2 August 1990. Had he waited a few years until Iraq had developed a nuclear deterrent, he would have been able to seize Kuwait without any Western military gestures.' Perhaps blinded by his inability to understand the significance of Western technological superiority, and certainly mistaken in his estimation of Western political will, he did not wait.

It is clear that he made the classic error of the despot who has savagely discouraged not merely argument with his opinions, but advice he does not wish to hear: he believed his own propaganda. Cut off by his medieval style of wielding power from any truly objective assessment of the capabilities of his forces when judged against First World standards, he had allowed himself to become seduced by the spectacle of their numerical strength and their complete submission to his control. That strength, and that con-

trol, were undeniably impressive by regional standards.

President Saddam Hussein is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, although the army, navy and air force are ostensibly controlled through the Ministry of Defence. Saddam's disdain for professional military men is, however, absolute. As has been widely reported, Saddam has never served in the Iraqi military forces and has had no serious military education. A political gunman in his youth, he rose through the ranks and factions of the secular, nominally 'socialist' Ba'ath Party by the most brutal methods, and eventually secured absolute power. Although he commissioned himself a general in 1975, and *Mushir* — 'general of the army' — in 1979, his power base is essential dynastic and regional. Like Hitler, he tended to interfere in the planning and execution of operations during the First Gulf War against Iran, usually with disastrous consequences. He is reported to have desisted when confronted by senior military officers; but it is significant that several of the most successful field comman-



ders of that war have since been disposed of, openly or in convenient accidents, to prevent their becoming the focus for any coup attempts.

Most officers in the Iraqi forces are Sunni Muslims; many of the rank and file are Shi'a Muslims, and discrimination against the latter is common. Officially the term of conscription is two years; but some prisoners taken in Kuwait claimed to have served for many years longer. Individual rights count for nothing in Iraq, and the almost non-stop state of war over the past decade is no doubt used as justification for delaying demobilisation.

At the outset of the Kuwait crisis the Iraqi army was the fourth largest in the world. Its total strength is variously reported: 955,000 regulars and conscripts and 480,000 reservists seems a convincing

Saddam Hussein posing for one of his innumerable publicity shots, here in the barracks dress of a general officer: dark blueish-green polished cotton 'class A' shirt and slacks, and an olive-brown Pakistani-made 'woolly pully' with olive-green cotton reinforcement and shoulder straps, and knit pocket flaps. The olive loops bear gold embroidered ranking of Mushir — the national eagle above wreathed, crossed scimitars — with a red silk stripe outermost. (Katz Collection)

estimate, though how many reservists were serving with the colours at any particular date is unknown. It is also one of the most battle-experienced armies in the world, and the most battle-experienced Arab army. It fought the Iranians for eight years in the First Gulf War and, though ultimately unsuccessful, it developed during that conflict into a capable

⁽¹⁾ As we go to press we note publication of a detailed guide, *The Iraqi Army: Organisation & Tactics* by Paladin Press (USA), available in the UK from Motorbooks, 33 St. Martins Court, London WC2 (tel: 071-836-5376).

Third World army. It held massive fixed defences, supported by plentiful artillery, with stubborn endurance; and became capable of conducting effective (though limited) offensives at corps level. The war cost Iraq some 120,000 dead and 230,000 seriously wounded.

The Western media made much of this long battle experience in the months preceding 'Desert Storm'; few commentators pointed out that long years of active service lead to exhaustion, and costly failure (to say nothing of the murder of popular commanders) to an erosion of morale.

During the 1980s some 30,000 Egyptian and Sudanese mercenaries also served Iraq, but how many, if any, remained in 1990 is unknown.

The army's growth from six divisions to nearly 60 in 1990 was certainly impressive, and was the result of a break-neck push for regional dominance financed by petro-dollars and foreign borrowing. Saddam's control of the army, through the Ba'ath Party, is (or was) as complete as that exercised by Stalin through the Red Army's commissars: an all-pervading fear of informers permeates the forces, as it does civil society.

DEPLOYMENT

Just before the invasion of Kuwait the order of battle of Iraq's ground forces is believed to have been as follows; in essentials it is thought to have remained intact until 'Desert Storm'.

Republican Guard Corps HQ
1st Armoured Division 'Hammurabi'
2nd Armoured Div. 'Medina'
3rd Mech. Div. 'Tawakalna'
4th Mech. Div. 'al-Fao'
5th Mech. Div. 'Baghdad' (permanently based in the capital)
6th Mech. Div. 'Nebuchadnezzar'
7th Mech. Div. 'Adnan'
99th Special Forces Div. (also apparently termed '8th' in some sources, and equivalent in capability, roughly, with a Western airborne formation rather than true special forces.)
1st Corps HQ (Kurdish & Northern Front)
4th Mech. Div.; 27th, 34th,

36th, 44th Inf. Divs.
2nd Corps HQ (Northern and Central Fronts)
17th Armoured Div.; 16th, 17th, 21st, 22nd, 28th Inf. Divs.
3rd Corps HQ (Southern Central and Southern Fronts, near Kuwaiti and Saudi borders)
3rd & 6th Armoured Divs.; 5th Mech. Div.; 2nd, 8th, 11th, 19th, 30th, 41st, 42nd Inf. Divs.
4th Corps HQ (Central Front, incl. Baghdad area)
10th Armoured Bde. 'Saladin'; 1st

Mech. Div.; 18th, 20th, 29th Inf. Divs.

5th Corps HQ (Northern Front)
7th, 23rd, 24th, 33rd, 38th, 40th, 45th, 46th Inf. Divs.

6th Corps HQ
12th Armoured Div.; 25th, 31st, 32nd, 35th Inf. Divs.

7th Corps HQ (Southern Front, Basra and Gulf coast region)
14th, 15th, 26th Inf. Divs. plus one coastal defence division.

In addition to these formations there was also an airborne

division (designation unknown); a mountain division; two surface-to-surface missile brigades; and about 20 Special Forces/commando brigades (basically reinforced battalions).

A separate 'Popular Army' — *Jaish al-Sha'abiya* — can call on all citizens between the ages of 15 and 50, including young women, for last ditch home defence. This is a poorly trained and lightly armed citi-

Peter Dennis's colour reconstructions overleaf are all painted from subjects photographed by Gary Curtis on the Basra highway on 3 March 1991, with the exception of (6). The figures are in some cases composites.

(1) Republican Guard mechanised infantry. This is a composite: the rifle and beret are added from two other men. The main subject wore a DPM hood tied round his head like a shemagh, and carried a folding-stock AK-74.

British DPM camouflage clothing is widely seen in the Republican Guard — though not entirely peculiar to it, to judge by the appearance of some POWs captured wearing parts of DPM uniform. It is usually faded pale. In the group encountered it was worn as complete suits; as jackets with olive trousers, or trousers with olive parkas; as smocks with 'class A' deep green trousers; even in combination with the 'desert DPM', as in (2). At least two men in the battle group were seen to wear the Guard's scarlet triangle, on both upper sleeves; and several wore the thick scarlet lanyard; but these men wore no rank badges. The maroon beret with national eagle cap badge in brass and national colours is the mark of the Guard — apparently, of all arms of service, and all ranks — and several men in the group wore it. The rest wore pile caps, helmets, or cap comforters. Black combat boots are applied often fitted with an extra tongue with a central zip, as here. One man in each section carried the Dragunov sniper's rifle.

(2) Mulazim Awwal, Republican Guard tank unit. Several men in the group wore this 'desert DPM' camouflage pattern, which has been exported to various Middle Eastern countries but has not been issued to the British Army. This example is cut like a paratrooper smock; it has knit cuffs, angled skirt pockets, a zip right up to the edge of the collar, and even the six brass snaps low on the front to take a 'beaver tail' — though this is apparently not present. Several men wore it with olive field or 'class A' deep green trousers, one or two with the matching desert DPM trousers. It was worn with this green pile cap, and with a tank helmet as at (7), by two T-72 tank officers. This first-lieutenant has field ranking, two embroidered five-point stars

in golden yellow on an olive shoulder strap loop. Desert DPM is reputedly popular in Guard — and perhaps other elite — units, and seldom if ever seen in other units.

(3) Only one man in the group wore a black beret, with the national badge; and this vertically streaked 'lizard' camouflage shirt and trousers, the latter with flat patch cargo pockets outside each thigh, and zipped black boots. Such vertical patterns are usually seen in Syrian and Palestinian service. His identity is unknown. The black beret may be a sign of a Ba'ath Party cadre, perhaps a political officer.

(4) Mechanised infantry. This is a composite of several figures in the Guard group encountered; but is also typical of the Iraqi infantryman in general. Many of the Guard group wore sand-pointed fibre/composition helmets of 'M1 done' type; the chin strap was usually tucked up inside. The shemagh was sometimes used as a scarf, but oddly enough does not seem to have been as common in the Iraqi army as among the Allies. The green parka, with a green pile hood lining, had external pointed breast pocket flaps with concealed buttons, and almost vertical side pockets — the forward-buttoning flaps of the latter were usually shoved inside the pockets. Field trousers in green usually had two cargo pockets. A shorter green field jacket was also seen: it has a conventional collar; four patch pockets with buttoned, pointed flaps; and five front buttons. The 'class A' deep green shirt often worn under field clothing has a shirt-cut collar and two patch breast pockets with pointed flaps concealing the buttons. The 'class A' slacks are also often seen, worn instead of field trousers; they are deep green and usually — but not always — lack side cargo pockets.

'ChiCom' style chest webbing is worn in various styles, usually khaki drab, often with green tape binding, but also in sage-green, and even deep blue-green. Boots were either conventional laced types; similar but with metal D-rings; or fitted with zips, as at (1). The AK-74 is the usual weapon in the Guard, but AK series weapons from many sources were captured from line infantry units.

(5) At least two men in the group wore this camouflage uniform, its 'horizontal lizard' pattern strongly recalling French issue of the 1950s-60s. The field jacket has a 'para'

neck; a frontal zip covered by a buttoned fly; slanted chest pockets and vertical skirt pockets, all with pointed, buttoned flaps; and a small left sleeve pocket. Matching trousers have a patch cargo pocket outside each thigh, and a dressing pocket in the right front.

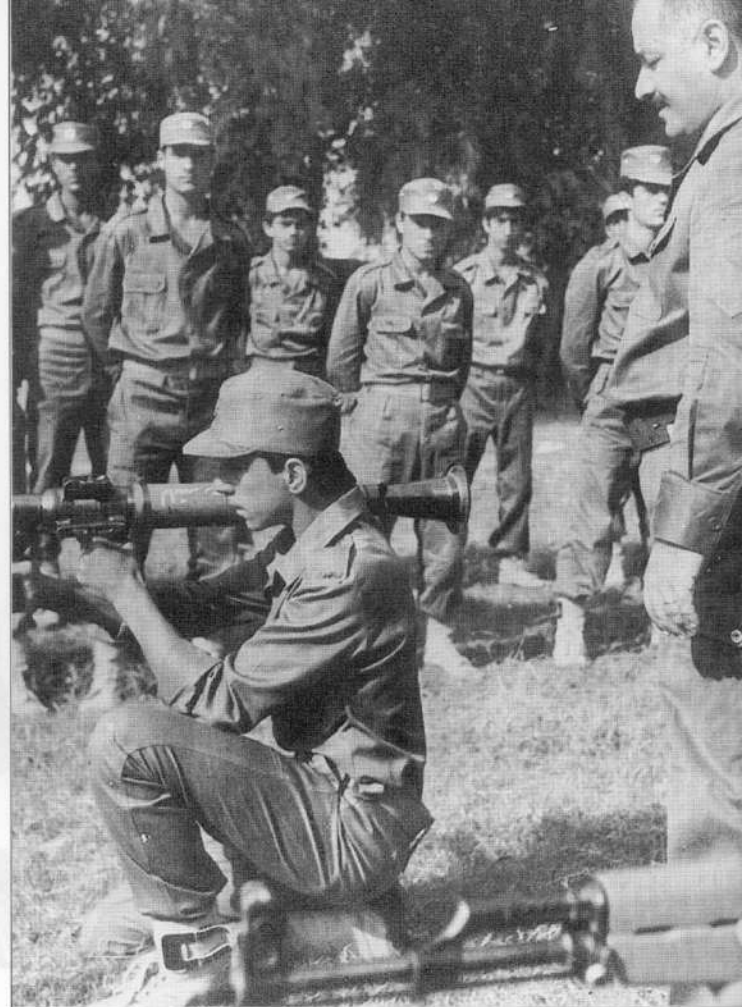
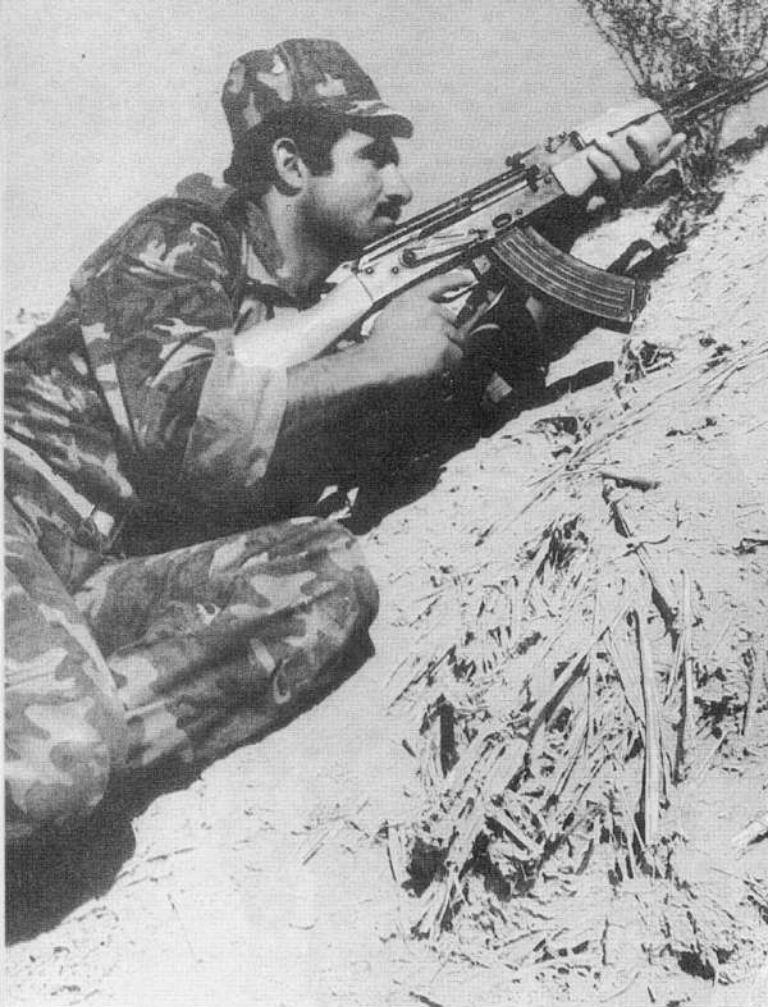
(6) Junior leader, Popular Army. The camouflage pattern in apple green, dark green, dark brown and black is common in the Popular Army and probably in other organisations as well, though it has not been widely seen among the mass of POWs. The cap bears a special badge instead of the national eagle; the junior leader photographed in an Iraqi propaganda book wore it repeated on a khaki shoulder strap loop with a bright green stripe — this seems peculiar to the Popular Army — but his rank is unknown. Note canvas and rubber boots with a riveted leather U-shaped patch with two buckled straps; leather belt, and mixed leather AK magazine pouches; and Romanian AKM rifle.

(7) Republican Guard T-72 tank unit officer. His shoulder-strap ranking indicates another first-lieutenant. He was the only tank crewman photographed in this group wearing a tank suit. Olive suits are also known, but this mustard-coloured type seems common. Note pocket and zip details; web belt with brown-holstered Tokarev TT-33 pistol; and black canvas Soviet-type tank helmet. These latter are sometimes worn perched rather high on the head, with a towel or shemagh inserted underneath and hanging behind the neck. Most other identifiable T-72 crewmen in the group wore a standard parka or field jacket, field trousers, the usual black boots, and 'ChiCom' chest webbing for AK-74 magazines. Such small items as Austrian field glasses and German canteens were also seen.

(8) One of the most common of several types of 'woolly pully' worn throughout the Iraqi army; another type has internal breast pockets with knit, external, buttoned, pointed flaps; both crew- and V-necked examples of both are seen. The rolled-knit cap comforter, or balaclava, seems to be — alongside the cheap pile cap as at (2) — the most common Iraqi army headgear by far. This man wears the 'woolly' over a 'class A' shirt and a lighter crew-neck sweater, and wears 'class A'-coloured deep green trousers.







Top left:

The indigenous 'woodland' style camouflage pattern in drab green, brown and black on pale green worn here by a member of the Popular Army — see colour plate (6) — is also observed in use by some elite regular units. (Katz Collection)

Top right:

Young men of the Jaish a-Sha'abiyah, 'Popular Army', in training; they wear green shirts, caps and trousers, brown leather belts, and canvas and rubber buckled boots — see colour plate (6). (Katz Collection)

Bottom left:

An Iraqi paratrooper, presumably of the Republican Guard special forces, photographed in a mortar position after days of heavy fighting during the battles against the Iranians for the Fao Peninsula. He can clearly be seen to wear British DPM field jacket and trousers, and a sand-colour British 1937-style web belt. Other photos show these troops with folding-stock AKs. The NATO-style steel helmet in dirty OD finish bears a crude white-painted motif; other photos show this to be a stylised parachute, between the up-thrust wings of an eagle diving right to left front; it is seen elsewhere with curved script above and below.

zen militia.

Generally an Iraqi division comprises between 12,000 and 15,000 men at full strength,

usually in three brigades. A motorised infantry division fields (in theory): three motorised infantry regiments each of three infantry battalions and a tank battalion (2,500 men, 30 x T-55 and 4 x PT-76 per regiment); one tank regiment of 1,050 men, 100 x T-55, 4 x PT-76; one field artillery regiment 1,000 men, 54 x 122mm and 152mm guns; an anti-aircraft artillery regiment (600 men, 24 guns); a Frog missile battalion (four launchers); a multiple rocket launcher battalion; an anti-tank battalion (18 guns); one each *recce*, signals, engineer, transport, maintenance and medical battalions; and a chemical defence company. It must be stressed that after five weeks of allied air bombardment a significant proportion of the divisions in the theatre of operations were at 50 per cent strength or below.

Republican Guard divisions are believed to be larger, with independent armoured, artillery, and even airborne and chemical elements. Each Guard brigade is to some extent self-contained, with a battalion of artillery (mainly G-5 South African 155mm guns);

and tank battalions have four companies instead of the usual three.

Kuwait

It was reported that Iraq had some 430,000 ground troops in Kuwait alone; 42 divisions were identified, according to allied military briefings. Elements of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th Corps were believed to be present, with an estimated 3,500 tanks, 2,500 other assorted armoured vehicles, and 3,000 artillery pieces. Deployments outside Kuwait at the outset of 'Desert Storm' are believed to have included:

Basra region

A Republican Guard Corps (1st, 2nd and 3rd Divs.) and elements of another Corps (probably 6th), totalling 226,000 men including a Republican Guard Special Forces division or enhanced brigade, and three separate Special Forces brigades; 1,500 tanks, including T-72s and T-62s, and 1,260 guns.

South of Baghdad

9th (Reserve) Corps, and several reserve tank and infantry divisions totalling some 250,000 men, 750 MBTs, and 650 guns.

West of Baghdad

A second Republican Guard Corps with three motorised/mechanised divisions (believed to be the 4th, 6th and 7th), protecting the strategic Karbala-Habaniya area with some 50,000 men, 180 MBTs including T-72s and T-62s, and 180 guns.

Baghdad

Republican Guard 5th Div., supported by an airborne brigade, totalling some 30,000 men, 180 MBTs (including T-72M1s) and 120 guns.

Kurdistan

One corps HQ with three infantry divisions; approximately 75,000 men, 120 tanks, and 120 guns.

THE REPUBLICAN GUARD

The Republican Guard was much cried up as an 'élite' force by the Western press between August 1990 and February 1991. Events have since proved what any military specialist knew in the first place: that 'élite corps' in the Third World

usually owe their special status more to political reliability than to genuinely impressive military qualities. The past months have demonstrated that Saddam's Praetorians are efficient at massacring lightly armed rebels and helpless civilians; but when faced by the allied liberation of Kuwait their performance did not rise markedly above that of any other Iraqi formations.

Formed in the late 1950s as an insurance policy against the coups which plagued Middle Eastern politics, the Guard became in 1979 the personal Praetorian Guard of Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party hierarchy. It was expanded initially to three brigades; and unlike similar forces in, e.g., Syria, which are selected from a particular religious background, Saddam's Guard was at first recruited entirely from his home region of Tikrit. Physical fitness, mental toughness and total political loyalty are, in theory at least, demanded of all would-be recruits.

They are indoctrinated with the belief that their future depends on the survival of Saddam's regime; and, through the well-established practice of forcing his henchmen to become personally associated with atrocities, he has made this dogma credible. Their efficient and extremely brutal protection of his regime is rewarded by pay (300 dinars monthly) which is nearly double that of conscript soldiers; superior food rations, with fresh fruit and vegetables; free housing and cars; specially tailored parade uniforms, and the best combat uniforms (including

ENCOUNTER WITH THE REPUBLICAN GUARD

Several of our photographs, and others on which Peter Dennis's plates are based, were taken (under tense circumstances, with a 35mm Canon autofocus) by GARY CURTIS, an ITN producer with *Channel Four Daily*. With colleague Alastair Stewart, Gary was the first British journalist into Kuwait City, in the early hours of 27 February. A few days later, on 3 March — a day before the provisional ceasefire was concluded — he was one of a number of ITN journalists (including cameraman Alan Thompson, Andrew Simmonds, Mike Gillings and Sam Gracie) who had a surprise encounter with a Republican Guard battlegroup on the Basra highway. With considerable presence of mind Gary (a longtime 'MI' subscriber) took advantage of the wary fraternisation which followed to take many photographs, which he has been kind enough to make available to us.

The negotiating camp where Allied and Iraqi representatives met to conclude provisional ceasefire terms lay close to the highway underpass on the Kuwait/Basra road, about 60km from Basra, which marked the furthest point of Allied advance. On 3 March, while the arrival of the Iraqi team was awaited, Curtis's team pushed on up the road into Iraq in the hope of reaching Basra by nightfall. After being checked out by a surprised Cobra gunship pilot they drove on, to encounter the Iraqi negotiating team coming in the other direction. They were escorted by a Republican Guard group — about two troops of T-72 tanks and some half-dozen BMP armoured carriers — which pulled off the road at that point and took up defensive positions behind old existing earth berms around an abandoned petrol station.

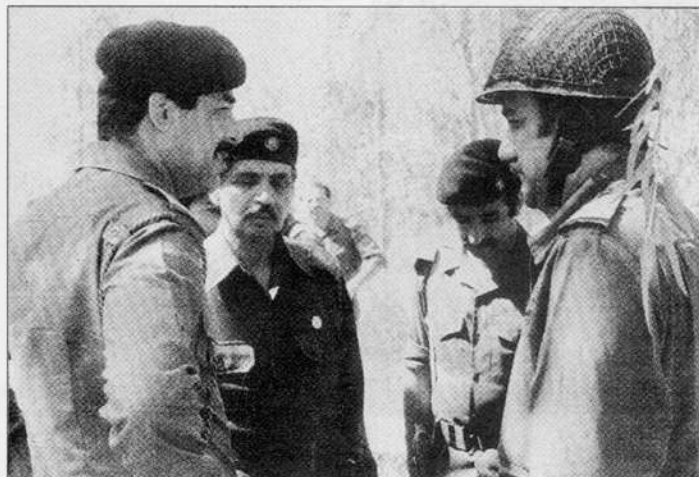
The ITN crew approached cautiously and began to take pic-

tures and film. The RG were suspicious but not particularly hostile; and by posing for snapshots with them, passing round cigarettes, and breaking out US Army MRE rations, the British journalists were able to take some excellent close-ups. The T-72 crews had to be 'stalked' slowly and cautiously but eventually relaxed. Gary recalls that the mechanised infantry seemed, for all their scruffy appearance, to be professional and disciplined; they used the break to clean and tidy their heavily-stowed vehicles, and to strip and clean weapons, without apparent orders.

The variety of uniforms worn by this small unit was extraordinary. Gary's photographs show groups including British DPM and 'desert DPM' camouflage; two patterns of 'lizard' camouflage; indigenous 'woodland' camouflage; standard issue Iraqi olive fatigue trousers, field jackets, and parkas; at least two types of 'woolly pully'; a mustard-coloured tank coverall, and black padded canvas tank helmets; and a few examples of the RG's red triangle sleeve patch, and scarlet lanyards. The maroon RG beret was quite common; isolated examples of a black and a drab brown beret were also seen; and several sand-painted fibre/composition NATO-style helmets (giving little apparent protection) were worn by the infantry. Most tank crewmen seemed to wear uniforms (and chest webbing of 'ChiCom' style) identical to the infantry apart from their padded vehicle helmets. The AK-74 was commonly carried; each BMP had at least one SVD Dragunov sniper rifle, and PK GPMGs were plentiful.

When the negotiating team drove past on their return the escort group packed up and moved off towards Basra at speed.

Visiting troops during the closing stages of his futile war with Iran, Saddam Hussein wears shirt-sleeve 'class A' uniform. He and the other senior officers wear black berets — note wreathed crest general officer's badge, centre; the pocket details of the dark green shirts are varied. Note that Saddam has a small buttoned loop behind the right shoulder retaining his lanyard, which seems to be mixed red and black? The 'class A' shirt is sometimes worn formally by officers on top of a thinner shirt and tie, thus resembling a battledress blouse. The helmeted officer seems to wear the mustard tank suit, with a 'rescue handle' under a flap across the back. (Katz Collection)





Republican Guard T-72, Basra highway, 3 March. Finished in a pale sand colour, the tank displayed the original Soviet forest green on the inside of hatches, etc.; jerrycans on the turret were dark green with a broad white stripe down the side below the handle. Tanks and BMPs in this battlegroup had the usual heavy, untidy external stowage, including the ubiquitous kettle always carried by Arab troops for brewing tea, the occasional plastic dustbin in unmilitary colours, etc. Note large number of smoke discharger tubes on turret cheeks; two large logs (for unditching) strapped below the rear cradles for external fuel drums; and the markings carried on the rear turret box. Hard to see are roughly painted white areas at the lower front and rear corners and centre of the skirt armour, right across the front of the trackguards, and round the muzzle and the front of the fume-extractor on the huge 125mm cannon. (Gary Curtis)



the British DPM and 'desert DPM' camouflage fatigues generally, though not exclusively associated with the Guard); and the most modern weaponry, issued to a lavish scale.

They are the only military organisation permitted to carry weapons in public when off duty. They are one of the very few organisations within the Iraqi military with any night-fighting capability; and, according to top secret reports which have now been discussed in open session of the German parliament, elements of the Republican Guard and the Special Tasks Force (see below) received training, both in Germany and Iraq, from GSG-9 personnel. Since each Guard brigade maintains a chemical warfare company, it was believed that any use of chemical agents against coalition forces in Kuwait would be by the Guard.

The Guard's deployment, prior to 'Desert Storm', astride the Iraq/Kuwait border, was a conventional use of a well-equipped mobile reserve; but it also served as a none too subtle



Detail of the rear turret box with the only markings carried on this tank: white Arabic '13', presumably the vehicle number; and white square with red triangle (Republican Guard) with a white disc bearing a black Arabic '17' — presumably a sub-unit indicator. The crewman wears standard olive parka, field trousers, black boots and faded olive 'ChiCom' chest webbing. (Gary Curtis)

discouragement to retreat or mass desertion among the front line conscript formations. Iraqi prisoners certainly claimed to believe that 'execution battalions' of the Guard were positioned in the rear of the frontier defence zones. This belief is entirely consistent with the measures adopted during the darker periods of the war with Iran to prevent threatened fronts from collapsing. Given the extraordinary disparity between the published estimate of total Iraqi strength in Kuwait, and the number of prisoners taken (between 60,000 and 70,000 only), their success in this role is open to question; mass desertions away from allied air attack and into the desert, sometimes with the connivance of field-grade officers, certainly took place. Given the practical impossibility of reaching an accurate estimate of Iraqi casualties, however, the number of deserters must remain problematical.

The Republican Guard's transformation from an internal security force to a conventional military organisation with priority status came between 1986 and 1988. Iraq was on the brink of outright defeat by Iran; and over this period the Guard was massively expanded to a strength of 27 brigades. The mandatory requirement of birth in the Tikrit region was dropped. Experienced, often decorated soldiers from line army units were transferred to the Guard, which also recruited actively among the better educated civilians such as college students, seeking a combination of physical fitness and technical aptitude. Trained in offensive military doctrines, and aggressively led by proven officers, the Guard played a pivotal role in turning the tide of war in 1988. Their decisive victories earned the Guard an honoured place in Iraqi military mystique, comparable to that of Hitler's Waffen-SS. More recent events have underlined the importance of considering the opposition against which such reputations are earned, however.

Republican Guard elements

were in the vanguard of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait; and remained in garrison for some time, in a security role, supporting the *Muchabarat* intelligence service. They were identifiable by their bewildering array of camouflage fatigues, often bearing the Guard's scarlet equilateral triangle patch on each shoulder; and by the particularly lavish issue of squad support weapons such as RPKs and RPGs, which are frugally issued to line units. Guard tank units are the only Iraqi battalions issued with the T-72 MBT; these, and their BMP armoured carriers, are often marked with the red triangle.

The Republican Guard is commanded by Gen. Iyad Khalifa al-Rawi; he received this prestigious and lucrative posting after leading the seizure of the Fao Peninsula as commander of an armoured division during the latter stages of the Iran-Iraq war. (The commander of the Guard during the bitter battles in southern Iraq in 1986-87, Gen. Hussein Rashid — a member of Saddam's Tikriti circle —

was the chief of staff of the armed forces in early 1991.) The titular 'commander' of the Guards, however, is Saddam's son-in-law Hussein Kamel Hassen: most of Saddam's closest subordinates are relatives by blood or marriage.

The removal of the Republican Guard units from Kuwait to deeply dug-in and heavily defended positions in southern Iraq before the outbreak of hostilities in January 1991 did not save them from heavy losses, though details are unknown. It is confirmed that the 3rd 'Tawakalna' Division was overrun during the ground fighting. Both the 1st 'Hummurabi' and 2nd 'Medina' Divisions were also severely mauled, both from the air and during the brief ground battle; but some elements of these divisions succeeded in reaching Basra, where they were later involved in the bloody suppression of the Shi'ite uprising. It must be assumed that the 4th, 6th and/or 7th Divs. provided units for the fighting on the Kurdish front in March.

Special Tasks Force

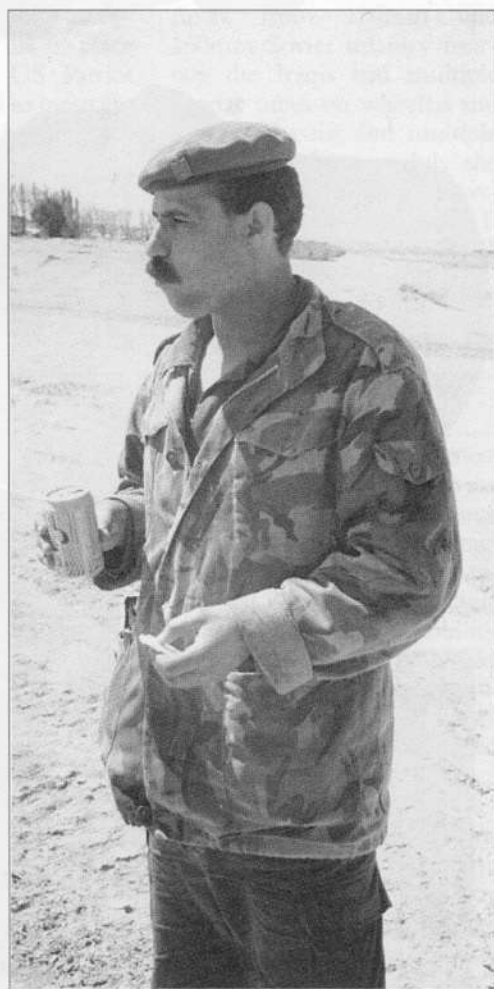
The Republican Guard's security efforts, mainly around Baghdad, are reinforced by the Special Tasks Force of some 15,000 men. Like the Guard in the late 1970s, they are solely recruited from Tikriti natives; they protect Saddam from external threats, from his own citizenry, and from the possibility of military coups. Some 600 heavily armed men of the Force surround the President at all times, instantly recognisable by their sharply pressed green fatigues, mirror sunglasses, 'ChiCom' chest webbing and loaded AKs.

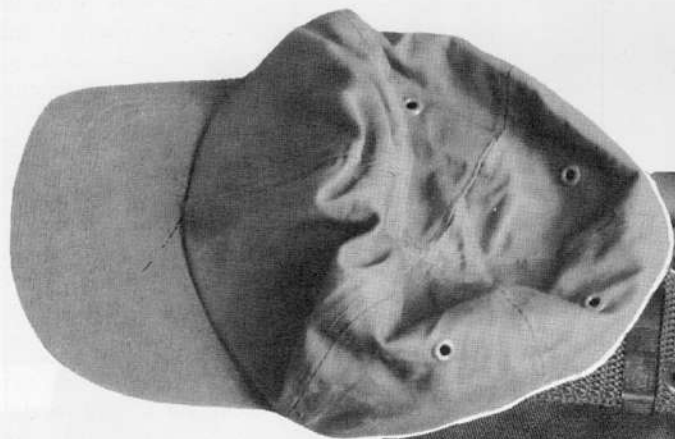
Below left:

Republican Guard mechanised infantryman wearing the basically horizontal 'French lizard' camouflage fatigues — see colour plate (5) — and the maroon beret. (Gary Curtis)

Below:

Republican Guard mechanised infantryman wearing the maroon beret with national badge; a field jacket in British DPM camouflage — see colour plate (1); and olive field trousers. This group fell eagerly upon US Army MREs; leaving aside the ham slice and bacon omelette for religious reasons, they seemed keen on crackers with tubed apple jelly, and Diet 7-Up. (Gary Curtis)





Left hand page:

The Iraqi tank crewman's uniform items in these and the following photographs were recovered by SQMS Lee of B Sqn., 14th/20th Hussars; they are now at the Lancashire County and Regimental Museum, Stanley St., Preston, where they will be displayed. Thanks are due to SQMS Lee; to Regimental Secretary Major Bill Williams; to Anthony David of the Museum Service for translations; and to curator Stephen Bull for bringing these items to our attention and for supplying photos and text. Some items are in new, 'stores' condition; others have clearly been used. Given the 14th/20th Hussars' movements during the fighting we may guess that they were worn by a member of the Iraqi 52nd Armd. Bde., 12th Armd. Div. of 6th Corps, but this is speculation.

The jacket/shirt is light, unlined, and can be closed to the neck with five buttons. Two breast pockets have pointed flaps, concealing buttons; there is one inside pocket. The trousers, also olive green, are elasticated at the ankle and have four fly buttons; there are slash side pockets with buttons, a back pocket, and two large thigh cargo pockets with straight flaps concealing two buttons. There are only three wide belt loops; the nylon web belt has eyelets and metal slides in US fashion but a 'British 1937' type buckle. Trousers and jacket bear labels as illustrated; apart from size and washing codes there is a triangle enclosing an Arabic 'J' for Jaish — Army'. The baseball-type cap has a peak with four rows of stitching; and six panels, four with ventilation eyelets. Under the peak is scribbled the name 'Abass Kazem Hassen'. Laid on the trousers in our close-up is the army form 431A, reverse.

THE REGULAR ARMY

The mass of the Iraqi army is made up of infantry. Unlike the armoured corps (and, particularly, the air force) these formations represent no threat of a military coup. They are regarded as cannon-fodder, and the difference between their treatment and that of the Republican Guard is profound. It is reported that, e.g., the 7th Corps based in western Kuwait at the outbreak of the ground war had no fuel reserves for its vehicles; did not receive mail; and had extremely limited stocks of ammunition for all weapons. The effectiveness of infantry in the offensive and the defensive depends upon heavy artillery support. The typical defensive position is a

triangular battalion fortification whose potential depends on drawing the enemy into a killing zone dominated by artillery, and on massive mine fields.

In the assault the infantry are well supplied with a wide range of light armour; the army's total inventory of LAVs and APCs is conservatively estimated at over 8,000 vehicles before 'Desert Storm'. While the bulk of these were of Soviet bloc origin, they reflected Iraq's enormous overseas purchase programme during the 1980s, and included Chinese, French, Swiss and Brazilian types.

Weapons are primarily of Soviet manufacture or design. The AK series of 7.62mm assault rifles is, of course, ubiquitous. Iraq has manufactured under licence the AKM and AKMS, locally known as the *Tabuk*, as is the 5.45mm AK-74, normally carried by the Republican Guard, Special Tasks Force and Special Forces. The local version of the SVD Dragunov sniper rifle is designated the *al-Kadisja*; and of the RPG-7, the *al-Nassira*.

Armoured Forces

It is believed that the army's tank fleet in December 1990 totalled some 5,500 vehicles,

although this figure has since been written down by at least 3,000. Some 500 T-72B, T-72G and T-72M1, armed with the powerful 125mm gun, served with Republican Guard units. (Numbers of the Yugoslavian M-84 variant were captured from Kuwait in August 1990; and local manufacture of the T-72M1 under the name *Assad Babil*, 'Lion of Babylon', was under way.) Some 2,500 T-54s, T-55s and Romanian TR-77s, 1,000 T-62s, and 1,500 Chinese T-59/69-2s made up the bulk of the tank inventory. There were also some 100 old PT-76 light amphibious tanks; and unknown numbers of captured Chieftain Mk. 3/5 and M-47/60 (ex-Iranian) as well as some Chieftains and Vickers captured in Kuwait.

Reports to date do not indicate that any serious manoeuvre operations were attempted by the Iraqi tank forces during 'Desert Storm'.

Artillery

The threat of Iraq's ballistic missile arsenal proved militarily insignificant, if politically dangerous, and pre-war analysis of its capability has no place here. Some 140 US Patriot missiles were fired to intercept a total of 81 Scuds launched,

with a success rate of more than 75 per cent. With the exception of a single Scud which fell on a US temporary barracks in Saudi Arabia the missiles played no military part in the war.

Iraq was extremely strong in conventional artillery; and one of the many mysteries of the war is their failure to make serious use of the roughly 1,400 guns believed to have survived allied air and artillery attack in the Kuwaiti theatre of operations, given the almost 'World War I' management of their artillery in the war with Iran. Types included the South African G-5 155mm, with a chemical capability, of which some 200 are believed to have been acquired; a 210mm SP gun designated *al-Fao*, developed by the murdered Canadian expert Dr. Gerald Bull, with a range of 58km; French GIAT GCT 155mm SP howitzers; Austrian GH N-45 155mm, and British FH-70 105mm and 155mm captured from Iran and/or supplied by Jordan; D-74 122mm, D-30, M1938 and M46 130mm guns. Apart from 120mm and 160mm Soviet infantry mortars the Iraqis had multiple mortar tubes on wheeled and tracked chassis; and multiple rocket launchers, mainly the BM-21 122mm 40-tube system, and the Brazilian Astros II with ranges up to 60km. These MLRS systems were used to deliver chemical agents during the Iran-Iraq war, but not during 'Desert Storm'.

UNIFORMS

We must confess an almost complete failure to confirm the principles governing the issue of particular uniforms to Iraqi troops. It is tempting to speculate that issue is on an entirely *ad hoc* basis of local availability, but we cannot reasonably take refuge in this. While different uniforms can be listed, generally they cannot be categorised by types of troops.

Basic summer issue includes a sand-khaki shirt and trousers, the former with single-button patch pockets and shoulder straps, the latter with cargo pockets on the right or both thighs. This outfit was little



Side and sole of unissued black high combat boots; the thin tongue is attached in bellows fashion up both edges, to keep sand out.

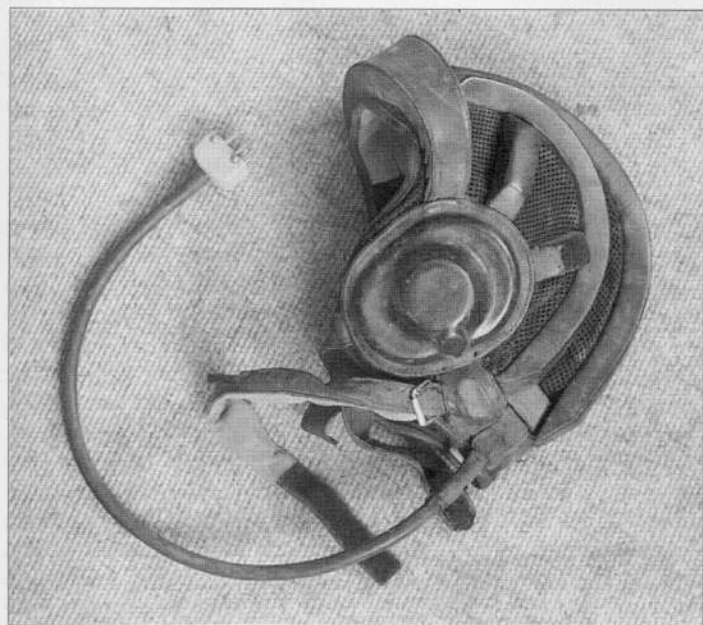


Top:

Fibre/composition helmet, painted sand over green drab. The white painted triangle is half of an equilateral triangular formation sign of some sort — the left half as viewed is dark grey but does not contrast with the ground colour in this photo. Geometrical signs of this kind were seen marked on some AFV's.

Centre:

Mesh-based tank crewman's helmet in black, of typical Eastern bloc type. The brow pad bears an Arabic number '16120' crudely painted in blue.



seen among the prisoners taken in Kuwait, who generally wore an olive/sage green winter combat uniform described in the colour plate captions (see figure 4). Olive brown pullovers of two main styles, with variations, were very widely worn in the field (see under figure 8); the most common combination was field trousers, pullover, and parka.

The most common steel helmet appears to have been the West German model, resembling the old US M1, usually painted matt sand but occasionally (and not only among élite units) camouflaged in broad painted patches and streaks of bright green, light brown and black. It seems to have been outnumbered in use by a fibre/composition type of similar appearance. While many prisoners may have dis-

carded helmets before surrendering, it was notable that the great majority of them did not wear any headgear other than knit olive 'cap comforters' or rolled balaclavas; or a poorly made, close-fitting winter cap in green fabric, with neck/ear flaps and frontal peak/flap lined with thin green artificial fur pile. Boots were normally black, of various high-cut models, laced through eyelets or D-rings, or (especially in Republican Guard units) with an applied frontal tongue fitted with a zipper.

A deep blueish-green 'class A' shirt and slacks uniform in a sateen finish was seen worn by officers and some Guard personnel in the field.

The range of camouflage fatigues is bewildering; and since pre-war photographs show more than one type being worn within a single sub-unit, it is probably unsafe to make any firm statement about the issue of a given pattern to a particular unit.

British 'DPM' pattern field jackets, parachute smocks and matching trousers in the normal green, brown and black on sand ground were commonly seen (see colour figure 1). This pattern seems to be particularly popular in Republican Guard units, but is not exclusive to them: odd combinations of parts of this uniform with parts of the olive fatigue uniform were seen among line infantry prisoners. 'Desert DPM' (see colour plates, figure 2) was also seen; this is a pattern widely exported to the Middle East but not used by the British Army. It seems to be much rarer than green-based European or lightweight tropical DPM, and particular to the Guard and/or other special forces.



Two Iraqi national beret badges; a plain yellow metal quality seems normal for rank and file, officers having a gilt version with coloured enamel flag. The unidentified lanyard is black and gold interwoven; the tank badge is woven in white and black on an off-white ground and was apparently seen sewn over the left breast pocket. The ID card, army form 431A, gives number, rank, name, place of birth, blood group and division (illegible here). This card was issued in May 1985, suggesting a regular rather than a conscript.



Canteen in aluminium with black plastic cap and OD carrier, the mess tin section marked 'HHD'.

Pakistani-made camouflage clothing, and a Korean pattern originally made for the Guatemalan forces, were also observed in some quantity, the latter associated with élite units. Special Forces seem generally to wear an indigenous Iraqi camouflage roughly resembling US 'woodland' pattern. A similar but not identical pattern was issued in quantity to the Popular Army (see figure 6). Two different 'lizard patterns', basically horizontal and vertical, appear to be associated with Guard, instructors, or other politically privileged personnel (see figures 3 and 5).

The significance of beret colours baffles even intelligence analysts. The most commonly seen in the field is the maroon of the Republican Guard, apparently worn by all categories of Guard troops. A very few pre-war photographs suggest that the airborne formation wears a scarlet beret. Forest green and drab brown berets have also been photographed worn by unidentified personnel.

The most common beret of all appears to be black, worn by senior officers (including Saddam himself), security personnel on protection duties, and instructors. It does not seem to be associated with a particular branch of service; for instance, Republican Guard armour, like Guard infantry, wear the maroon headgear. One suggestion, unconfirmed as yet, is that the black beret is not strictly an army headgear, but that of the Ba'ath Party cadres; this is not inconsistent with the photographic evidence. All berets apart from

those worn by general officers seem to bear the brass and enamel national eagle badge; generals have a wreathed crest badge.

Insignia are seldom seen in the field. Officers generally wear ranking on shoulder strap loops: one, two and three gold metal or yellow embroidered five-point stars for company officers (*Mulazim*, *Mulazim Auwal* and *Naqib*); the national eagle for majors (*Ra'id*); and the eagle above one, two and three stars for lieutenant-colonel to brigadier (*Muqaddam*, *Aqid*, and *Amid*). Major-general, lieutenant-general, and general wear the eagle above crossed swords, one star and swords, and two stars and swords; general officers, perhaps including brigadiers, have a red stripe across the outer end of the cloth loop.

NCO ranking is almost never seen on combat clothing, and only rarely in pre-war training photographs, temporarily pinned in place. It consists of black diagonal stripes from the rear seam down to the front seam of both upper arms — one to four for senior private to senior sergeant (*Jundi Auwal*, *Na'ib Arif*, *Arif*, *Ra'is 'Urafa*).

Coloured lanyards seem common, perhaps indicating instructors or career (as opposed to conscript) NCOs; scarlet lanyards on the right shoulder have been photographed worn by Republican Guardsmen in the field and by black-beret instructors (without any other ranking) in the rear. Black, or combined-colour lanyards are also seen, but cannot be identified with certainty.

Shoulder patches of formation seem virtually unknown; a very few pre-war photographs show them on 'class A' uniform, worn on both sleeves. The only one seen in the field, to our knowledge (and that not often), was the red triangle of the Republican Guard. Field parachute wings, in yellow/gold embroidery on a solid green patch, are occasionally seen worn on the left breast of field uniform by élite troops or qualified individuals. **M**

The Cape Mounted Riflemen, 1827-1870

IAN CASTLE

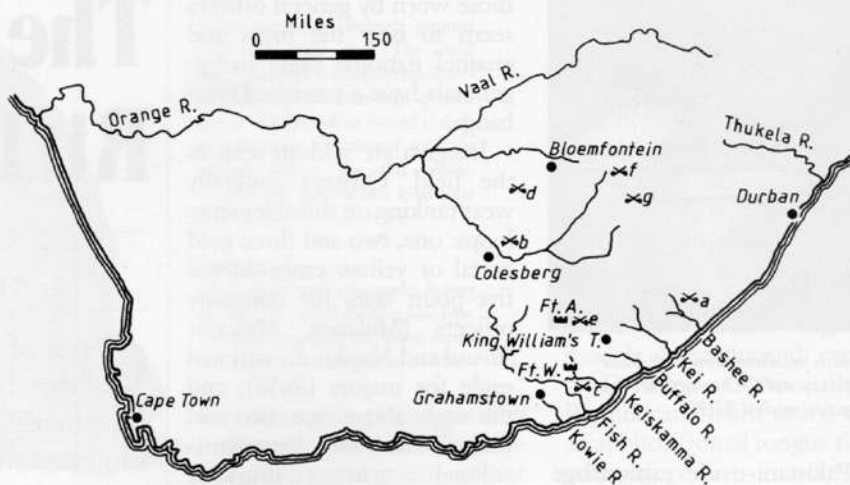
Paintings by RICK SCOLLINS

One of the most unusual units that has served in the British Army must surely be the Cape Mounted Riflemen of South Africa. With every man mounted they were to all intents and purposes cavalrymen, who would think nothing of spending weeks constantly in the saddle, but who were trained to fight equally effectively on horseback or foot. Indeed, between 1827 and 1843, when there were no Regular cavalry units stationed in South Africa, they performed the duties of that arm of the service extremely well; yet throughout their active history the Cape Mounted Riflemen were always considered as, and paid the rates of, an infantry regiment. Add to this the fact that the unit was comprised of a mixture of Europeans, Khoi tribesmen (or Hottentots, as they were known to the settlers) and Coloured men of mixed European and African blood, and one can begin to appreciate the unique nature of the CMR.

A contemporary illustration of a Khoi sergeant of the CMR in full dress (1827-34). Other ranks' full dress consisted of a jacket of plain green cloth, collar and cuffs of the same material, with yellow braiding down the front and twisted yellow shoulder cords. The white duck trousers only appear to have been worn on formal occasions, the normal full dress trousers being of green cloth with a double yellow stripe. Around the waist there is a yellow and red striped girdle; and all leather equipment is black.



- ✂ a-Mbolompo 1828
- ✂ b-Zwartkopjes 1845
- ✂ c-Gwanga 1846
- ✂ d-Boomplaats 1848
- ✂ e-Boomah Pass 1850
- ✂ f-Viervoet 1851
- ✂ g-Berea 1852
- Ft. A.-Fort Armstrong
- Ft. W.-Fort Willshire



ORIGINS

As early as 1793 the Dutch in South Africa had formed from among the native inhabitants a military body known as the Pandours; and as ownership of the Cape changed hands three times over the next 13 years, so each regime continued to recruit these people to supplement their meagre military resources. The Cape was officially ceded to Britain in 1814; and by 1819 the Cape Corps, as it had become known, had a strength of 23 officers and 450 other ranks of whom about one third were cavalry. Lt.Col. Henry Somerset took over command of the unit in 1823; the strength was increased to 500 other ranks, with the ratio of cavalry increased to about half the total, as it became more apparent that mounted men were essential to ease the problems of controlling the distant, troublesome frontier areas. All these early formations had received their pay from the Colonial Treasury; but in 1827 the Cape Corps was disbanded and immediately reorganised as a totally mounted unit, named the Cape Mounted Riflemen and funded by the Imperial Government, becoming part of the British Army.

RECRUITS & WEAPONS

The initial strength of the newly formed CMR was 250 non-European rank and file formed into three companies of mounted infantry under the command of officers and sergeants transferred from British line regiments, young

colonists occasionally being allowed to purchase or being given commissions in the regiment. As the majority of officers enrolled had already served in other units the average age of the officers in the CMR was higher than those in line regiments. The regiment proved attractive to many officers lured by the climate, the cheap lifestyle, the chance of active service, and in many cases by the abundance of big game hunting. In time Europeans were introduced into the ranks, volunteers being taken from line regiments — but only those with exemplary records.

The Hottentots and Coloured soldiers, who up to 1852 provided the bulk of the unit, were ideally suited to the work that was expected of them, which involved patrolling and skirmishing over large areas of frontier while tracking and pursuing stolen cattle, for which their experience in the bush proved invaluable. These men were excellent horsemen and fair shots; but as more and more recruits were sought over the years so the quality of those taken into the regiment varied greatly. Lt.Col. Harry Smith, who later became the Governor of the colony, once wrote: 'No nation in the world with the exception of the inhabitants of the South of France have such a natural turn to become soldiers as the Hottentots'. Sir Harry, as he became, was given reason to change his opinion in the 1850s.

The average height of the

African and Coloured recruits was 5ft.1in., and they were known as 'Totties' by their European comrades. All ranks were mounted on Cape ponies, mostly stallions, which averaged 14 hands 2 inches. These ponies were extremely hardy, carrying 300lb. when ridden in full marching order, some lasting 14 years in the service of the CMR. An officer who served with the unit described them as the best military animal in the world.

The main armament of the CMR was a double-barrelled carbine which was ideally suited to bush warfare. Lethal up to 100 yards' range, the carbines were always loaded with ball in one barrel and buckshot in the other. Originally flint-lock, the carbines were replaced by smoothbore percussion weapons in the early 1830s, which took a ball of twelve to the pound and a charge of 3½ drams of powder. In 1854 the regiment was issued with the rifled Victoria carbine. All ranks were issued with the 1829 pattern Light Cavalry sword, which had a three-barred hilt and a blade of 34in. for other ranks and 35½ in. for officers; however, this weapon was of little use for the bush warfare in which the CMR was invariably engaged, and was discarded into the regimental baggage whenever possible.

UNIFORM

1827-1834

The first uniform was based on that of the Light Dragoons. The officer's full dress jacket

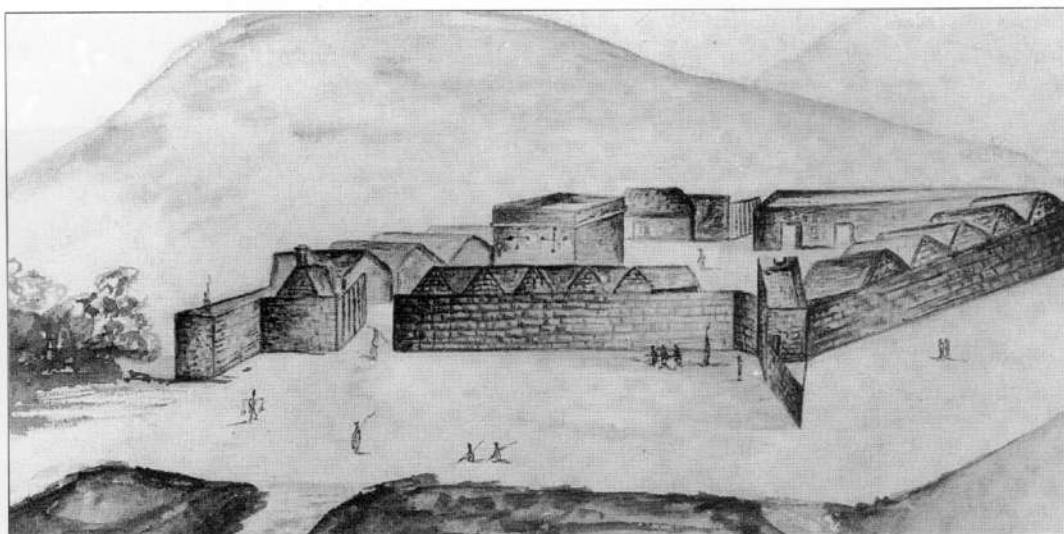
was made of green cloth with collar and cuffs of the same material, the collar edged with gold lace which extended down the front of the jacket. A line of gold cord ran up the seams of the sleeves and down those at the back of the jacket; the shoulders were ornamented with twisted gold cords. Trousers were also of green cloth with two gold stripes running down the outside seams. Headwear was the bell-topped Light Dragoon shako with a gold lace band around the top. A gold and scarlet girdle was worn around the waist, and the pouchbelt was of gold lace on green leather with a central green stripe. Plumes, belts, sword, knot, pouch and sabretache were of Light Cavalry pattern. Black leather ankle boots were worn with yellow metal spurs.

Officer's undress uniform differed only slightly, the same style jacket being worn with the gold lace replaced by black braid and the shoulder straps by twisted black cord. A black patent leather pouchbelt would be worn, as would a peaked forage cap of green cloth.

The other ranks' full dress is shown in the accompanying photograph; in undress the jacket was of the same cloth edged in black braid, worn with a green forage cap smaller than that of the officers.

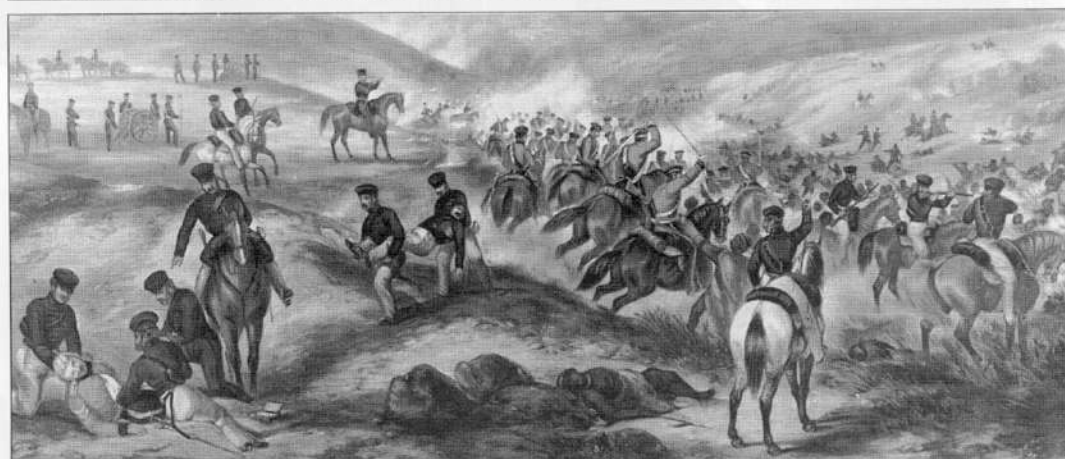
On active service all ranks wore yellow-brown leather overalls which were affectionately known as 'crackers' from the peculiar noise produced when the wearer walked.

Line Drift Post. This fort, on the Keiskamma River, is typical of the type that were built along the frontier and manned by the CMR. These square forts, solidly built of stone by the Royal Engineers and loopholed for defence, contained accommodation for mounted men and infantry. Work was completed on the first in 1835, but due to their isolated positions communications could be difficult in times of unrest.



Below right:

The Battle of Gwanga: CMR and 7th Dragoon Guards attack the Xhosa in the Gwanga Valley in 1846. The CMR can be seen in the left and right foreground. Most of the men are wearing laced rifle green jackets, without pelisse, leather 'crackers', and a mixture of forage caps with and without peaks. One man is wearing green overalls.



These crackers were highly regarded by the Coloured and African ⁽¹⁾ rank and file, who would spend a great deal of time tailoring them until they fitted like a second skin, and in some cases they would carefully embroider the seams. One drawback of the crackers was their tendency to harden when made wet. An officer of the CMR recalled one patrol he led in the bush; when a storm broke his patrol halted, removed their crackers, carefully packed them away, remounted, and continued their work bare-legged until the storm had passed.

1834-1870

In 1834 the first steps were taken to change the uniform from Light Dragoon style to that of a Rifle Regiment. A new Hussar-style jacket in rifle green cloth was issued to all ranks, the Europeans receiving a black-fur-trimmed pelisse. Trousers were of the same green cloth; and the girdle continued to be worn until 1849 when it was replaced by a Hussar-style barrel sash. In 1844 the cavalry pattern Albert shako was introduced and replaced the rifleman's bell-topped shako worn since 1834. Pouchbelts and waistbelts were of black patent leather. When serving in the field most men appear to have removed the pelisse and replaced their shakos with green forage caps,

sometimes with a black oilskin foul weather cover.

In 1848 the uniform facings were changed from green to black; and in 1851 it was decided to replace the crackers with grey or green overalls, strapped with leather and bearing a black stripe down the leg. It would appear that the European officers and other ranks adopted the overalls at this time, but the Coloured and African members of the unit seem to have continued to wear their favourite item of uniform through the 8th Cape Frontier War of 1851-53.

The pelisse and sash were finally abolished in 1856, and a new French-style képi was issued. Made of black felt, the new headgear was 9in. deep at the back and 5¼in. in front, with a black patent leather peak which was edged with ¾in. black braid for officers, who also carried a band of 1¾in. black lace around the top of their képis. The badge was a bronzed Maltese cross with a crown over, and the cap lines were of black silk with acorn ends, the whole being topped

by a black horsehair plume.

The jacket at this time was replaced by a more comfortable rifle green tunic and the trousers, cut wide at the thighs, had a black stripe down the outside seams and were strapped with leather between the legs. The swordbelts were of black patent leather, as was the pouchbelt, which carried a silver eight-pointed star and crown surrounded by a laurel wreath.

An illustration of the CMR in 1857 shows other ranks in plain rifle green stable jackets with black collars and pointed cuffs. The front of the jacket is edged with black braiding and fastened with hooks and eyes. The overalls are of medium grey with a black stripe down the seam, and rifle green forage caps are worn.

In 1864 the felt képi was replaced by one of cloth, and a stable jacket was officially authorised for all ranks. This jacket was as previously described with the addition of a line of black studs down the front to hide the hook and eye fastening. The new forage cap

Captions to colour plates overleaf:

- (A) Shako plate, 1827-1856
- (B) Royal Standard
- (C) Other ranks' field service uniform, 1846
- (D) Officers' full dress uniform, 1842
- (E) Other ranks' 1829 Pattern Light Cavalry sword
- (F) Victoria carbine
- (G) Other ranks' shako, 1827-1834
- (H) Other ranks' shako, 1834-1844
- (I) Other ranks' girdle, 1827-1849
- (J) Regimental Guidon
- (K) Other ranks' field service uniform, 1866
- (L) Other ranks' full dress uniform, 1856-1866
- (M) Officers' field service uniform, 1827-1834
- (N) Other ranks' field service uniform, 1848-1856
- (O) Other ranks' shako, 1844-1856
- (P) Other ranks' shako, 1856-1870
- (Q) Officers' pouchbelt plate, 1827-1857
- (R) Officers' pouchbelt plate, 1857-1870
- (S) Shako plate, 1856-1870
- (T) Other ranks' barrel sash, 1849-1856
- (U) Rank Distinctions:
 - (1) Lieutenant
 - (2) Captain
 - (3) Colonel

(1) This phrase will be used here, since it is, practically speaking, impossible to distinguish between mixed-race and full-blooded Africans in the available references. It should be taken as meaning non-European.



1827-1856



1846



1842



1829



Victoria Carbine



1827-34



1834-44



1827-49



J



K

1866



L

1856-66



M

N

1827-34



1848-56

O 1844-56



P 1856-70



Q 1827-57

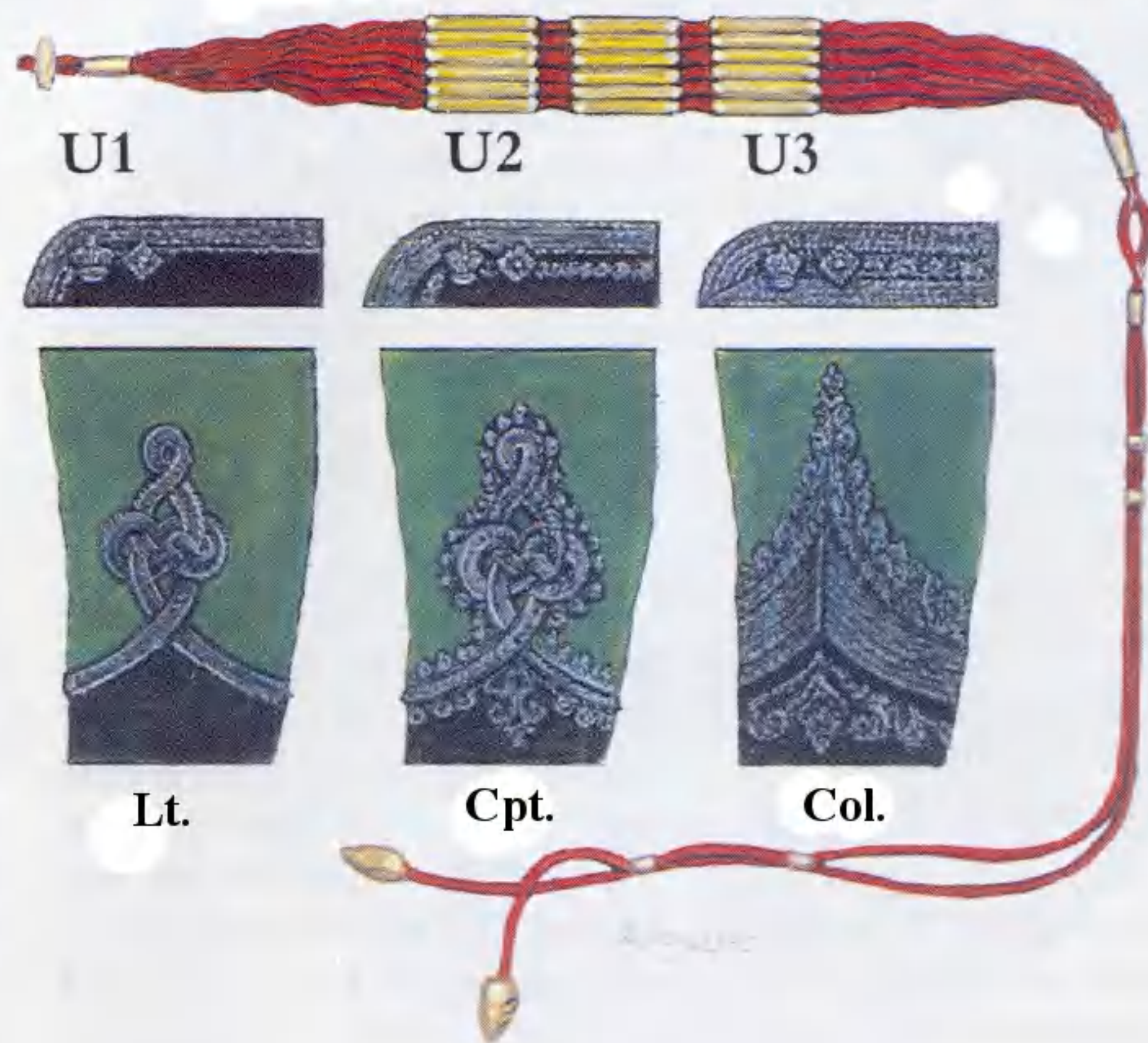


R 1857-70



S

1856-70



U1

U2

U3

T

1849-56



Lt.

Cpt.

Col.

was of rifle green cloth with a black band and had a black button and braid on the top. The black leather peak was embroidered with black mohair for officers and had a black leather chin strap. In about 1866 the forage cap changed again when a pill-box type was adopted. In 1867 the képi received a new plume of mixed red and black coarse horsehair with a fall of 7in., issued to all ranks; and for the first time since the unit's formation the uniform was changed from green to dark blue. These were to be the last changes to the uniform of the CMR as three years later, in 1870, the regiment was disbanded.

THE CMR IN ACTION

1828

In July the CMR were part of a force detailed to prevent an invasion of Cape Colony by a large body of tribesmen, believed to be Zulus. The enemy were defeated by another British force before the CMR arrived. A further invasion was rumoured in August and another force was gathered together, including 100 CMR, which virtually destroyed the enemy at the battle of Mbolompo. On both occasions the enemy had in fact been the Ngwane people who were fleeing from Shaka's Zulus.

1829-1834

The regiment returned to normal duties, manning the fortified border posts that protected the frontier. The majority of their work involved the pursuit and recovery of stolen stock. During this period the CMR recovered 6,500 cattle and 500 horses, which in some cases involved trailing the beasts for weeks at a time.

1834-1835

6th Cape Frontier War. The CMR was now referred to as a Rifle Regiment and the establishment was increased from 250 men by the addition of 275 native levies. These performed well, except a group of 25 stationed at Fort Willshire who plotted to hand over the fort to Xhosa tribesmen; however, this plan was thwarted. In May 1835 Headquarters was set up at Cyperfontein near

Grahamstown. Following the unit's strenuous involvement in the campaign the military commander in South Africa wrote to the Governor that 'My movements are totally paralysed, and the most useful and valuable part of my force — the CMR — is rendered inactive for want of corn. My horses have not had a grain for a week... I have had a few sets of clothing about half made up, a saddle without material and a bundle of curry combs to re-equip my valuable fellows, out night and day working with the lightness of heart equal to the thinness of their breeches'.

were discharged following this incident, the remaining three companies being added to the permanent strength, taking it to six companies each of 80 men. In November 1838 Headquarters transferred to Grahamstown; and in October 1840 Sir George Napier, the Governor of Cape Colony, expressed his admiration of the unit's conduct and efficiency in the field.

1841-1845

The CMR were presented with a Royal Standard and Regimental Guidon, a unique honour as Rifle Regiments did not carry Colours. Two com-

time there are references to a European company; later that year 18 members of the unit were present at the siege of Durban. The CMR were brigaded with the 7th Dragoon Guards in 1843, but there was little love lost between the two regiments; the 7th DG considered the CMR inferior as they ranked as infantry, and the CMR in turn disliked the dragoons because of the increased amount of administrative work created by their presence — something to which little attention had been paid in the past.

Relations with the Boers across the Orange River deteriorated in 1845 following a treaty between the Cape government and the Griquas. A small force, which included 24 CMR, attacked the Boers at Zwartkopies and dispersed them after a short engagement. As a result a British Resident was installed, and a detachment of 58 CMR under Major Warden set up a permanent camp at a farm called Bloemfontein, which was to become the capital of the Orange Free State.

1846

7th Cape Frontier War. The regiment was increased to eight companies each about 80 strong. War broke out in March, and at this time the CMR were seen at their peak as a fighting force. Colonel Michel, 6th Regiment, commented that regular cavalry were of no use against natives in the bush and the only unit that could operate effectively were the CMR. In one action a non-European sergeant, with six comrades, volunteered to ride through a large group of hostile Xhosa to deliver despatches. On reaching their destination only two remained alive, both their horses being wounded. In the Kowie Bush a large group of Xhosa were cornered in thick bush; volunteers were called for from the two companies present to clear resistance, and every man stepped forward, ensuring the success of the operation. The CMR took part in the cavalry charge at the Gwanga River,



1836-1840

Increases in cattle theft led to the creation in 1837 of seven provisional companies of the regiment who were despatched to man the frontier posts after having received only minimal training. One of these companies stationed at Fort Peddie plotted against the government in 1838, and a detachment of the 72nd Regiment was sent to arrest the mutineers. This having been achieved, the detachment was attacked on the return journey and an ensign killed. Four of the provisional companies

This picture shows an officer and other rank in drill order in 1849. Both men wear the hussar-style jacket with black lacing across the front and rifle green overalls with a black stripe down the outside seams. The new shako is worn with a black horsehair plume. The Light Cavalry saddle is covered by a black sheepskin.

panies were despatched from Grahamstown, one based at Colesberg to check on the activities of the Free State settlers across the Orange River, the other based in the Pondo territory watching Natal. In 1842 recruitment commenced in England, and for the first

Continued on page 36

His Majesty's Canadian Regiment of Fencible Infantry, 1803-16(2)

ROBERT HENDERSON

The first part of this article described the complex development and active service of the Canadian Fencible Regiment. Their struggle to achieve the uniforms and arrangements of a regular corps is further detailed in this section. Also discussed are the differences between Regulars in Canada and those serving on the Peninsula or at home. The harsh climate, the access to Commissariat stores, and the distance between regiments and their agents in England all affected the Regular's appearance in North America.

Although the Canadian Regiment was intended from the start to have its 'pay, clothing, arms, and accoutrements on the same footing with line Regiments'⁽¹⁾, events dictated otherwise. Only after its embodiment following the Chesapeake Affair did the regiment receive a regular cloth-

ing issue from its agent in England.

With his recruits nearly naked, Lt. Col. David Shank ordered in the spring of 1806 that the Regiment be clothed in the uniforms of the late Queen's Rangers. In his correspondence with Colonel Thomas Peter, Shank

Colour photographs overleaf:

(A) Reconstruction: private of a battalion company in summer dress, 1812. (Photo: Janice Lang)

(B) Reconstruction: detail of private's equipment, 1812. He carries a 36-round reversible-block pouch reconstructed after an original in the Canadian War Museum; the wooden block takes 18 cartridges top and bottom. The leather pouch was made with a slight flare to permit easy reversal of the block to bring the bottom cartridges to the top. Note the branded Board of Ordnance mark on the canteen, after an original in the Canadian War Museum. (Photo: Janice Lang)

(C) Reconstruction: drummer, summer 1812; in this example the coat has ordinary private's lace due to the difficulty of obtaining the complex drummer's pattern. Note brass fife case; these were usually regimentally marked. (Photo: Janice Lang)

(D) Drum of the Nova Scotia Fencibles, made of brass, with the colony's coat of arms painted on a yellow background; yellow hoops

have red edge-stripes and a central blue worm. Canadian Fencibles' drums would probably have been similar but bearing the Royal Arms — the Canadas had no coat of arms at this date. (Canadian War Museum)

(E) Reconstruction: lieutenant of a battalion company, as he might appear in full dress uniform in 1814. (Photo: Janice Lang)

Front cover of this issue:

Canadian Fencibles private with snowshoes. The difficulty of marching in snow was provided for: in Maj. Gen. Louis de Watteville's proposed attack on an American winter camp at the end of 1813 he ordered that the troops should not be encumbered with packs, carrying only canteens and haversacks. The Light company of the Canadian Fencibles would have formed the advance guard, and were issued snowshoes. General, District and Garrison Orders also reveal the issue of ice-creepers, moccasins, fur caps and mittens, gloves, extra socks, flannel shirts and drawers to Regulars in wintertime. (Photo: Janice Lang)

described the Queen's Ranger clothing on hand as consisting of 200 'suits'⁽²⁾. What each suit included can only be speculated upon.

Normally, when a regiment was disbanded the men were entitled to take away with

Continued on page 30

Belt plates of the Canadian Fencible Regiment. The prominence of the central thistle on the officer's example — an original in a private collection — underlines the influence of the Regiment's Scottish roots. The private's plate, with a plain rim, and thistles flanking the crown, is a reconstruction copied from an original in the collection of the New York Historical Society. It was common practice for drummers' plates to bear a drum motif; an original 41st Regt. drummer's plate has the crown replaced by a drum. (Janice Lang)







D





them that year's clothing or the equivalent in pay. When the Rangers were disbanded in 1802 many men were compensated for missing that year's regimental necessities. It is quite conceivable that the missing clothing arrived in the Canadas during the following year's shipping season and was placed into stores. If this was the case Shank would have had access to the complete regimental uniform of the Queen's Rangers.

Items expected from the agent of the Queen's Rangers in England included caps, regimental coats, and pantaloons. These articles were claimed for by former Queen's Rangers in 1802 and probably constituted the bulk of Shank's issue to his men. The Queen's Ranger coat was made of dark green wool faced with black. Though resembling some experimental rifle corps of the time in colour and cut, the coat was laced in the fashion of a line regiment. Containing no worm, the lace was arranged in single, 'double-headed' or square-ended loops⁽³⁾. Like the coat, the pantaloons were also made of green cloth⁽⁴⁾. Hamilton Smith illustrates the Queen's Rangers wearing a tall cap, the style and make of which is uncertain. These green uniforms were replaced by red ones after the Regiment's strength was officially recog-

Top:

(Left to right) Coat, breast and gaiter buttons used by the recreated regiment, copied from originals in the Canadian Parks Service collection. No regimentally marked gaiter buttons of the Canadian Fencibles have been found. (Photo: Janice Lang)

Bottom:

Detail of Grenadiers from Coldstream, 1st and 3rd Foot Guards: Hamilton Smith, 1812. The cap was 12in. high, of black bearskin on an internal frame. The back had a slight taper reminiscent of such caps during the American Revolution. The brass plate probably displayed the Royal Arms; at the base of the rear was a small brass flaming grenade badge, or a drum on the caps of Grenadier drummers and fifers. Cords and tuft were white. The Grenadiers and drummers of the Canadian Fencibles received such caps at the end of 1810. (National Army Museum)

nized on the army establishment in 1808.

When embodiment came it did not solve all the uniform problems of the Regiment. Neither the Regiment's field officers nor Greenwood, Cox & Co. (the regimental agents) could predict the Canadian Fencibles' rapid growth. Between January 1808 and January 1809 the Regiment's strength grew from 265 to 421 men. An additional 26% increase was experienced in the following year. By 1812 the Regiment levelled off at a strength of just under 700.

As a result of this rapid growth, equipment and clothing shortages plagued the Canadian Fencibles from 1808 to 1811. In November 1808 the return of arms for the Regiment showed, along with other items, the need for 269 firelocks and bayonets, and the lack of both drums and pikes. The adverse effect of the doubling in strength was evident to Maj. Gen. Isaac Brock in August 1809. When they marched into Quebec City that month Brock noted the Regiment's 'deplorable condition... untaught, without clothing, or necessities.'⁽⁵⁾

The next year saw the implementation of a vigorous programme to improve the Regiment's condition. Shank was deemed unfit to proceed with the Canadian Fencibles' development and was assigned to other duties. Major George Robertson of the Canadian Fencibles, 'a steady, intelligent, and active officer... much more calculated to the task'⁽⁶⁾ was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. By the end of 1810, Inspection returns show the Regiment almost complete in clothing, arms, and accoutrements.

1810-1811

All men possessed a cap, regimental red coat, waistcoat, white woollen breeches and tall black wool gaiters, and a pair of shoes. In addition, each sergeant received a pike, a sword and belt, a sash, and a book of instruction. Drummers were issued hangers with belts and drum carriages, but were left wanting both drums and bugles; these

items were supplied in 1811. As for the rank and file, each was given a musket and bayonet, a 36-round reversible-block cartridge pouch, a bayonet scabbard, and a set of pouch and bayonet crossbelts. Each of the ten pioneers possessed an axe, saw, and apron. After much petitioning the members of the Grenadier Company received their regulation bearskin caps.

Echoing earlier supply problems, the Canadian Fencibles suffered the loss of their 1810 issue of 353 greatcoats. The loss at sea of these greatcoats left most of the Regiment to patch their two-year-old greatcoats and another 120 men devoid of any at all. The lack of adequate clothing for the winter of 1810-11 was hard on the Regiment. Those months coincided with the highest winter sick rate in the history of the Canadian Fencibles — even higher than the winter of 1812-13, when a 'spotted pox'

epidemic hit Upper and Lower Canada. To solve this shortage the Military Secretary, Lord Palmerston, ordered Maj. Gen. Francis Baron de Rottenburg to have the greatcoats made in the Canadas. After considerable effort by De Rottenburg the Regiment received greatcoats, in three of the regulation sizes, at the end of the same winter⁽⁷⁾.

Although fully equipped, the Canadian Regiment lacked a stand of Colours. This oversight was rectified on 3 June 1811 in Quebec City, when the Regiment was presented with its first set of Colours. In his consecration address the Reverend Jacob Mountain described the Colours as a 'high and hallowed trust... a trust never to be betrayed by disobedience or disaffection, nor disgraced by a disorderly or a dastardly conduct'⁽⁸⁾. With the King's and Regimental Colours in hand, His Majesty's Canadian

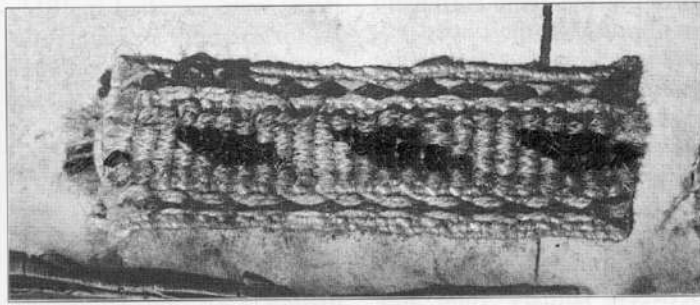
Regiment of Fencible Infantry was finally complete.

UNIFORMS IN 1812

By the outbreak of war in 1812 each private in the Canadian Fencibles had been issued with a regimental coat made of woollen cloth coloured madder red. The coat's collar, cuffs, and shoulder straps were faced with 'yellow' (not 'lemon' nor 'deep' yellow). The private's lace contained two evenly-spaced black lines and was arranged by twos in square-ended loops. The coat typically possessed two different sizes of buttons. Twelve smaller buttons were placed

Reconstruction: Canadian Fencible officer and sergeant defending the Regimental Colour. The General Order of 6 July 1813 creating the rank of colour sergeant stipulated that Fencible regiments in America were not eligible, and regimental records support this. Note the 1812 shako, which probably did not reach the Regiment until 1814. (Photo: Janice Lang)





Companies Clothing & Accountment Book for 1814

| Names | Clothing Accountment Delivered | | | | | | | | | | Signature of the Soldier |
|--------------|--------------------------------|------------|--------|-----------|----------|------------|--------|-----------|----------|------------|--------------------------|
| | Coats | Waistcoats | Shirts | Shirtings | Doublets | Waistcoats | Shirts | Shirtings | Doublets | Waistcoats | |
| Sergeants | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sgt. Kellogg | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Kellogg |
| Mr. Murphy | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Murphy |

Companies Great Coats & Blankets with their Numbers & Date of Issuing

| Names | No. of Coats | Blankets | Date of Issuing | Signature | Remarks |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|---------|
| Sergeants | | | | | |
| Sgt. Kellogg | 1 | 20 Sept. 13 | 20 Oct | Kellogg | |
| Mr. Murphy | 2 | 26 March | 26 March | | |
| Corporals | | | | | |
| Sgt. Scott | 11 | 17 Apr. 13 | 17 Apr. 13 | J. Scott | |
| Peter Garrick | 28 | June 13 | 26 March 14 | P. Garrick | |
| Drummers | | | | | |
| Sgt. P. Bachel | 67 | 20 Oct | 20 Oct | P. Bachel | |
| J. B. Poirier | 52 | 22 Sept 13 | 22 Sept 13 | J. B. Poirier | |
| Priests | | | | | |
| Mr. Allard | 3 | 22 Dec 13 | 22 Dec 13 | Mr. Allard | |

over the coat. The drummer's wings were probably edged with woollen tufts of red and white. Although no original drum has survived, they were probably made of brass and had the royal coat of arms with a yellow background painted on them.

Top left and right:

Original samples of private's and (right) drummer's lace of the Canadian Fencibles, from the Pearce Records Book. Notations accompanying the private's sample call for 12 yards of looped lace per coat, arranged '10 by 2 Double-headed'; the pattern has two black stripes. The drummer's 27 yards of lace were noted as arranged on 'Seams...6 Darts up...no Body lace' in addition to the '10 by 2 Double-headed' placement on the front. It is also noted that the drummer's coat had only ten large coat buttons, which left either the pockets or the cuffs without buttons or lace. The entry also called for a 'worsted mixed fringe' presumably a red and white tufting for the shoulder wings. The drummer's pattern lace has a red and white repeat diagonal between two yellow lines, and the black edge-stripes seem to be in a thick/thin weave. (Canadian War Museum)

Centre:

Detail from the clothing and accountment book of Capt. Hall's company for 1814. Note the very complete list of items across the top of the page. Not visible here is an entry for one pioneer in this company; he was issued one felling axe, one saw, one mattock, one bill-hook with case and girdle, and an apron, and was thus encumbered with more equipment than regulations demanded. Each sergeant in this company seems to have been issued a sash, sword and belt, pouch and belt, and musket sling. A regimental court of enquiry of June 1814 also recorded sergeants with pikes. Nevertheless, while in theory only Light company sergeants were supposed to have muskets and crossbelts, this document shows that battalion company sergeants in this Regiment also received them. (National Archives of Canada)

Bottom:

Companies' greatcoats and blankets were numbered and issued against signature: here, part of the records of Capt. Hall's battalion company of the Canadian Fencibles. (National Archives of Canada)

to fasten the front of the coat and the shoulder straps. Larger non-functional buttons were mounted by fours on the cuffs and pockets, along with two on the outer seams of the back panels, flanking the lace triangle in the centre.

As with most British infantry regiments, the sergeant's coat was made of scarlet red fine melton and

decorated with plain white worsted wool lace. The sergeant's rank badge of three chevrons was of white lace mounted on a single piece of yellow wool. For corporals the chevrons were made from private's lace. The quartermaster sergeant and the sergeant major, whose coats were of an officer's cut, had gold lace on their rank badges. (Oddly enough, the Regiment

was to have no colour sergeants).

In contrast to the private's uniform, the drummer's coat was made of yellow and faced with red. A total of 27 yards of lace decorated each coat. The lace itself was edged by thin black stripes. It had a tufted centre of red and white diagonal stripes flanked by two narrow yellow lines. This lace, 1/2 in. wide, was mounted all



HEADGEAR

The cap worn by most of the Regiment at the opening of the war was the stove-pipe shako, the exception to this being the grenadiers and their four drummers, who wore bearskin caps with white plumes and cords. Introduced in 1801, the leather stove-pipe shako was replaced with one made of lacquered felt in 1806. The shako itself was expected to last a year while its plate, lacquered rosette and regimental button, and wool tuft had a two-year life expectancy.

The Horse Guards circular letter of 18 March 1812 called for the replacement of the stove-pipe shako with one of superior quality. Commonly referred to as the Belgic shako, the new cap's innovative features included the adoption of a cover made of prepared linen which prolonged the hat's use to two years. The new cap's introduction, however, did not affect regulars

stationed in the Canadas until their 1814 clothing issue. Regulations stated that regimental clothing destined for Canada had to be finished by February to be examined by the Inspectors of Army Clothing⁽⁹⁾. This allowed the clothing to be shipped in time for its issue on 25 December. When the new cap was approved the Canadian Fencibles' 1813 clothing issue had probably already set sail for North America. Regiments arriving in the Canadas in 1813 from the West Indies and Great Britain, on the other hand, would have received the new cap, as their 1813 clothing was not inspected until July and October respectively. By 1814, the Canadian Regiment was completely outfitted with the new 'cap and cover'⁽¹⁰⁾.

TROUSERS AND NECESSARIES

The early shipment of regimental clothing also affected

the adoption of grey wool trousers in the Canadas. The General Order of 5 June 1812 stated that breeches had already been forwarded for several regiments serving in Canada for the clothing issue of 1813. This order sanctioned the breeches' use for the following year. Therefore it is quite possible that knee breeches and tall gaiters were worn by the Canadian Regiment until at least the summer of 1813. Supplementing the wool breeches, there was also wide use in the summer months of linen trousers which were provided by the soldier as part of his 'necessaries'. Grey trousers and half-gaiters were in universal use in the Canadas by the summer's end of 1813⁽¹¹⁾. The great quantities of grey trousers available in Commissariat stores made this possible.

As for other necessities, each soldier was expected to possess two pairs of worsted

Sergeant (right) and private, winter dress, 1812-13: reconstructions. There were four qualities of greatcoat provided by British clothiers. The highest quality was issued to regular regiments, and was marked 'S', arrow over 'T', 'G'. The grey coats came in four sizes; sealed patterns for three of them were shipped with each greatcoat issue; the fourth, most likely the largest, was issued one for every 30 coats. Size markings (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4) and the quality indicator were marked inside the lower part of the coat. Sergeants' coats were shipped without collars or cuffs, allowing these to be added in regimental facing colour (yellow in this case) by unit tailors. Sergeants' and corporals' chevrons could be added to the right sleeves. Each coat had 24 large regimental buttons: two on shoulder straps under the cape, eight pairs down the front, and three on each pocket. Coats destined for Canada were fully lined, and had a life expectancy of two years. When they were issued to companies each was individually numbered and its issue recorded. (Photo: Janice Lang)

socks or stockings, two pairs of shoes, one flannel and one linen shirt, and a leather stock with clasps. On 23 October 1813 the *Montreal Herald* advertised the sale of army necessities that included half boots, nailed and heelshod, full and half hose, trousers and drawers, linen and check shirts, stocks and clasps, cloth, shoe and button brushes, shaving boxes, combs and blacking, razors, knives and spoons. Many of these items, as well as a wool shell jacket and forage cap, towels, a tin cup and plate, musical instruments, tobacco, a polishing mixture of brick dust and lard, and pipeclay, were all crowded into the soldier's knapsack.

When a Regular regiment was called upon to engage in a lengthy march, linen haversacks and canteens were issued to them from local Commissariat stores. Because of this, none of these items were to have been marked regimentally. Surviving wooden canteens in Canada only bore a branded Board of Ordnance mark. During the war both tin and wooden canteens were used by Regulars in the Canadas⁽¹²⁾. Commissariat store returns show a large portion of the Canadian Fencibles in possession of wooden canteens. **M**

To be continued

London Territorials on the Frontier, 1919

MICHAEL BARTHORP

Mountain warfare on the North-West Frontier of India up to 1948 tends to be thought of as a peacetime activity which gave Regular soldiers in the Army of India a chance to fire their weapons in anger (see 'MI' No.25). Certainly between 1914 and 1918 most of those Regular soldiers, British and Indian, had more pressing business elsewhere; but the Pathan tribesmen, chiefly the Mohmands and Mahsuds, saw no reason why a world war should interfere with what for them was almost a way of life. Indeed, many of their mullahs, then as now, urged bloodshed in the name of 'jihad' in support of their Turkish co-religionists, the allies of Imperial Germany. In 1919, as an exhausted world drew breath, they received further incitement to mayhem with the outbreak of the Third Afghan War. Afghanistan had been at peace with British India since 1880, but a new Amir, who had seized power by dubious means, decided to distract his countrymen from internal dissensions by capitalising upon nationalist riots within India and launching a foray across the border.

The Indian Army had not yet recovered from the Great War and the regiments available to meet this threat were largely made up of recruits. Of the former 61 British Regular regiments in India, only two of cavalry and eight infantry battalions remained in the sub-continent. When the rest had left for the war in 1914-15 their places had been taken by the former 'Saturday afternoon soldiers' of the Territorial Force who, on mobilisation, had volunteered for overseas and been sent to garrison India. By 1919 all were impatiently waiting to be sent home for de-mobilisation.

One of these, the 1/25th Battalion The London Regiment⁽¹⁾, had been a cyclist battalion pre-war but, after being embodied in August 1914, had

been converted to ordinary infantry in 1915, and arrived in India the following year. At a time when its sister battalion, the 2/25th, was being disbanded in England, it was about to face a Frontier campaign.

The first Afghan thrust, in the Khyber region, was held successfully; but a far more serious situation developed to the south in Waziristan where the Mahsuds again came out to aid the Afghans who besieged a small Indian garrison at Thal. To relieve it a force was hurriedly assembled under Brig. Gen. Dyer (of Amritsar fame, or obloquy, depending on one's point of view). The force was all-Indian, of mixed quality, except for one British battalion — the 1/25th London Regiment. Notwithstanding his somewhat unpromising material and anxiety over his own future following Amritsar, Dyer made a forced march, attacked the Afghans and saved, not only Thal, but possibly the Frontier as well⁽²⁾. This ended the Third Afghan War, but operations against the Mahsuds and Wazirs continued nearly till the end of 1920. By then, however, the 1/25th London had gone home and were disembodied on 4 March 1920.

A photograph album apparently compiled by a member of this battalion has recently been loaned to 'Military Illustrated' by its owner, Mr. Gary Russell, who has kindly permitted the reproduction of some of its contents. No dates appear in the album, but the few place names suggest the photographs were taken during operations against the Mahsuds, rather than Dyer's relief of Thal.

Notes:

(1) From 1888-1908, the 26th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers. From 1923, a TA Royal Signals unit.

(2) On 11 April 1919 troops under Dyer's command opened fire on rioting crowds at Amritsar, killing 379. This quelled all disorder in the Punjab; but after the Afghan War, notwithstanding his success at Thal, he was relieved of all command and died soon afterwards.





Top left-hand page:

Mahsud chief (left) and tribesman. The latter's weapon appears to be a Martini-Henry carbine.

Bottom left-hand page:

1/25th London Regiment at a halt on the march. They wear Wolseley helmets, KD service dress tunics, shorts, and home service puttees without hose-tops. The rifles are SMLE with leather slings. (Cf. 'MI' No.25, pp.28-36).

Top:

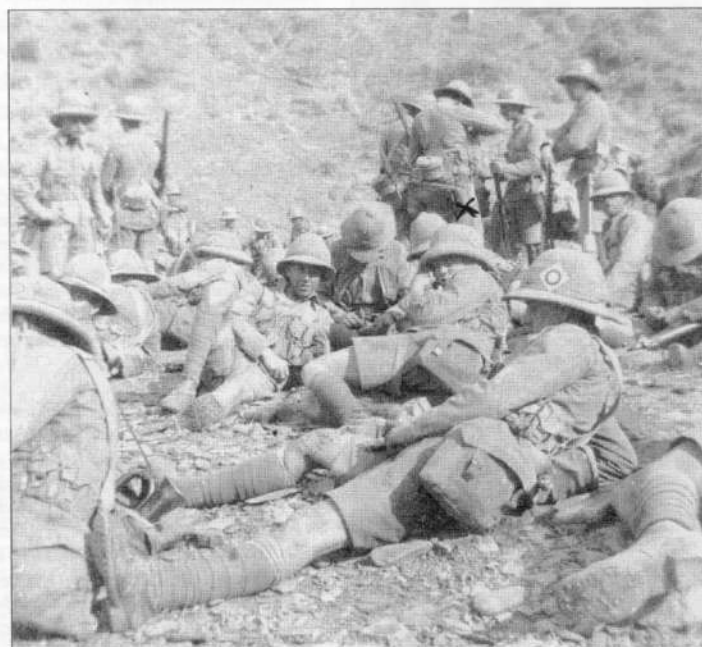
Mahsud prisoners under guard. The sentry wears a pith topi (see 'MI' No.25, p.24) instead of a helmet.

Bottom right:

Mahsud watchtower in village captured by 1/25th and Gurkhas after attacking hills in distance.

Below:

1/25th London resting during operations. Uniform as other photograph, some with topis, others helmets. Equipment is 1908 web pattern without packs. Note helmet flash of dark 'O' on white diamond, and the bugle of the left-hand man.





A group of officers of the CMR in 1870 prior to disbandment. Uniform is now blue, but similar in style to that introduced in 1856. The tunic is now edged with wider black braid. Displayed behind the officers are the Royal Standard and Regimental Guidon approved for presentation by Queen Victoria in 1841.



The CMR on patrol c.1850, showing the hussar-style uniform with pelisse. The headwear is the cavalry pattern Albert shako, introduced in 1844; this was made of black beaver, 7in. deep with a sunken top of japanned leather 8in. in diameter, bound with black oak leaf lace 1 1/2 in. wide for officers and plain black lace 1in. wide for other ranks. On the front was the regimental plate, in bronze, which comprised the letters CMR in monogram surrounded by a laurel wreath surmounted with a crown. The peak was japanned black leather, and the shako carried black lines with acorn ends, silk for officers and cord for other ranks. The shako is shown worn with a drooping horse-hair plume; in full dress this would be replaced by one of black cocks' feathers.



CAPE MOUNTED RIFLEMEN (Continued from page 26)

the most decisive action of the war.

1847-1849

The establishment was increased to 12 companies in April 1847, approximately 900 all ranks. Changes to the treaty between the Government and the Griquas led to many Boers taking up arms, forcing the CMR detachment at Bloemfontein to flee across the Orange River to safety. Four companies of the CMR were present in a force of 700 which advanced to Boomplaats in August 1848 to exact redress. The European company formed the advance guard; Lt. Salis and several men of this company were wounded as they escorted the Governor to the Boer lines to parley. The Boers were finally forced to retire from the field after much bitter fighting. Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, wrote that it was 'one of the most

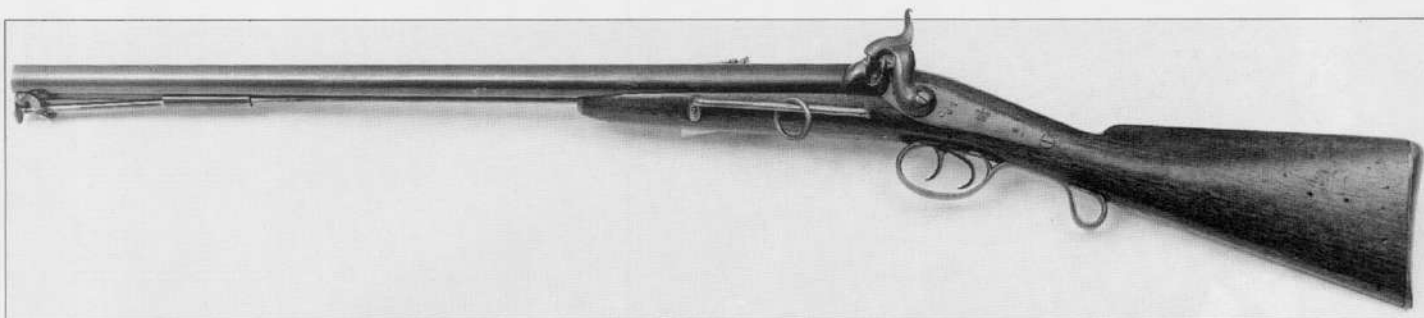
severe skirmishes, I believe, ever witnessed'. Casualties for the CMR were six killed and nine wounded. When the roll was called only 40 CMR could be located, the missing Coloured and African members straggling back into camp throughout the day. One weak company of 26 men in fact left the battle to take their wounded officer to safety, then returned to the leisurely pursuit of the Boers after stopping for a drink with a European sergeant-major. Shortly afterwards a Force Order was issued which stated that for every detachment of 70 men at least 20 should be Europeans, and from this time on all companies became multi-racial. Bloemfontein once again became a favourite posting for officers of the regiment due to the excellent big game hunting, minimal parades, and the abundant forage allowance which enabled officers to keep a string of horses for hunting.

1850-1853

Lt.Col. Sutton, 75th Regiment, took command in 1850, the strength standing at 33 officers and 868 other ranks, about a third of the latter being Europeans. The company at Bloemfontein was in action again in September 1850 against the Basuto; they took part in a successful mounted charge against the tribesmen, and the 40 CMR captured large numbers of cattle. December 1850 saw the outbreak of the **8th Cape Frontier War** amidst rumours of mutiny in the CMR's ranks. The regiment behaved well in the opening engagement in the Boomah Pass, but a few days later 50 CMR deserted to the rebels from King Williamstown. The remaining Coloured and African soldiers at the base were immediately dismissed, a loss of about 300 sorely needed men. In January 1851 230 CMR were part of a force which attacked and defeated a

rebel group which had taken over the unoccupied Fort Armstrong. By April the lack of mounted men was felt so acutely that the Governor authorised the recruitment of any available non-European troops, which included 120 of those disbanded at King Williamstown and some of the rebel prisoners captured at Fort Armstrong. In 1851 it became necessary to increase the proportion of white to non-European men in the unit as it was now proving increasingly difficult to get the local recruits to enter the bush and fight man to man.

Across the Orange River the CMR were constantly in action, performing well against the Thembus and Baphuti in March and June 1851; but at Vierwoet on 30 June the non-European troops refused an order to charge. After the reverse at Vierwoet it was not until 1852 that a force was able to return to deal with the Basuto, and after a fierce



Victoria carbine. Issued in 1854, this rifled carbine had double barrels 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, of .74 calibre, with four grooves, and was sighted to 800 yards. The Victoria carbine remained in service into the 1860s when it was replaced by a single-barrelled weapon.

battle at Berea Mountain their leader sued for peace. The CMR had 250 men present and lost five killed and four wounded. When the force returned to Cape Colony the 8th Cape Frontier War had come to an end; the CMR had fought their last military action.

A group of CMR c.1867. The officer on the extreme right of the front row and the four other ranks on the left of the rear row are wearing the tunic issued in 1856. Made of rifle green cloth, it had black collar and cuffs, the collar rounded at the front, and ornamented for officers with $\frac{3}{4}$ in. black mohair lace and braid. On each side of the chest there were five loops of black square cord with netted caps and drops fastened with worked olivettes for officers and hooks and eyes for other ranks, the top loops being 8in. long and the bottom loops 4in. The tunic was edged all round with black cord, except the collar, the cord forming an Austrian knot at the cuffs for other ranks; officers had broad braid cuff decorations. The other officers and men in the photograph are wearing the stable jackets as listed in the 1864 Dress Regulations. The rifle green overalls had a 2in. black braid stripe down the outside seams and in some cases were strapped with leather. The headwear is a mixture of képis and pill-box forage caps.

In 1852 a large proportion of the CMR's policing duties were taken from them by the formation of a colonial police force which became known as the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, consisting solely of Europeans. The authorities, losing their faith in the fighting qualities of the Coloureds and Africans, recruited 200 volunteers in England in 1853 to bring the Troops (no longer known as Companies) back up to strength; now two-thirds of the regiment were Europeans.

1854-1870

The regiment became concentrated in Cape Colony and Natal following the withdrawal of the Bloemfontein garrison in 1854; and in 1856 the CMR became classed as a British cavalry regiment, while still only receiving infantry rates of pay. New recruits were received in 1857 from the German Legion that had served Britain in the Crimean War; and a depot was opened in Canterbury, Kent, enlisting many men including a large number from the rac-

ing stables of Yorkshire. In 1862 the continued existence of the CMR was questioned as the effectiveness of the FAMP increased. Unrest among the Boers and Basutos ensured survival for the time being, although the establishment was reduced by two troops to ten, with a further four troops being disbanded in 1864. For reasons of economy the CMR was finally disbanded in 1870, the regiment being recalled to England. The Colours were laid up in Capetown Cathedral; and ten non-European troopers who remained and those Europeans who had served their time were allowed to stay in South Africa. Col. Knight, who commanded the regiment from 1866, brought the six troops to Chichester, where they were disbanded in the presence of the Duke of Cambridge — who was much impressed with them, and later is said to have regretted their demise. The men were allowed to transfer into the Horse Artillery or Cavalry; and thus the Cape Mounted

Riflemen, a unique regiment in the British Army, ceased to exist.

* * *

From its early beginnings the CMR had not met with the full approval of many of the people it had been created to protect, the Dutch settlers and farmers resenting the use of non-European soldiers as representatives of the law. The men who served in the regiment were well suited to their work, and for many years they carried it out efficiently and well, suffering great hardships in the process and being constantly in action. Many of the Coloured and African soldiers found it difficult to resist the pressure they were put under, often by family and friends, to desert to the enemy in times of conflict; a number of long service men were persuaded to give up all they had worked for to fight and die for the rebels. Looking back over the history of the CMR some people may consider the use of local soldiers as a failure in the long term; but there can be no doubt that they provided an inestimable contribution to the safety of the Colony throughout a long, trying and unsettled period of its development.

Postscript

Following the disbandment of the CMR some military duties were added to the existing police duties of the FAMP: until, in 1878, the Colonial government reorganised the unit as a regiment of mounted infantry and resurrected the old title 'Cape Mounted Riflemen' in recognition of the old Imperial unit's past services to the Colony. **MM**



The Jacobite Army at Culloden, 1746 (2)

STUART REID Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

The generally accepted view of the Jacobite cavalry at Culloden is that save for a small troop of Lifeguards and Fitzjames's Horse it comprised only a few pathetic handfuls of dismounted troopers standing aimlessly in the rear. In fact, although two regi-

ments had been disbanded earlier and their personnel drafted into the infantry, all the Jacobite cavalry at Culloden were mounted; and some of them, with the French regulars, played a vital part in protecting the right wing of the Jacobite army as it began its retreat.

Captions to colour plates overleaf:

(1) Officer, Écossais Royal

This somewhat unusual uniform, worn by officers of this French regular unit, was described by a witness at the trial of Lieutenant Charles Oliphant in 1747: 'Prisoner wore the uniform of Lord John Drummond's officers, viz; short blue coats, red vests laced, with bonners and white cockades'. A drover named John Gray also described Lord John Drummond himself wearing this uniform, although he added the detail that the blue coat was also trimmed with silver lace. This is very different from the uniform usually described as worn by this regiment at Culloden — which is actually that prescribed in the 1757 regulations. In 1746 the uniform would appear to have been much simpler, with a fairly small cuff and a white lining, not red.

An interesting watercolour of 1752 shows a full-skirted coat worn by a fusilier; but there seems no reason to disbelieve that in 1746 the fusiliers wore short coats too, and perhaps bonnets as well. The short coats and bonnets were not the only highland features: according to C.C.P. Lawson the grenadier company wore highland dress — presumably similar to the costume illustrated but with kilts replacing the breeches. The regimental piper, too, must have been an important man, for his servant was among the Culloden prisoners.

While seen earlier with the sword and half-pike appropriate to his rank, Oliphant was described by another witness as carrying a musket at Culloden. Having made the mistake of waiting for the regiment to come over to Scotland, although he had been promised a commission some time earlier, Oliphant — an Aberdeen customs officer — was found guilty, but reprieved on condition he emigrated to America.

(2) Trooper, Bagot's Hussars

Although there are a number of references to this unit and their distinctive 'hairy caps' there appear to be only two reasonably complete descriptions of members of the corps. In 1745 the anonymous author of the Woodhouselee Ms wrote: 'They have a troupe of gentlemen in Huzare dress with furred caps, long swords or shabbers, and limber boots'. James Ray noted that they were 'most of them young men dressed in close plaid waistcoats and large Fur Caps'. Except for the headgear, presumably of

French origin, the description could fit most Jacobite cavalry; indeed, to judge from depositions and trial evidence the 'highland dress' said to have been universally worn by the rebels frequently comprised only this short tataran coat and a blue bonnet. Most Jacobite cavalrymen seem to have been well equipped with pistols and muskets besides their swords; this trooper has a dragoon musket of the style which was later designated the Short Land Pattern.

(3) Standard bearer, The Prince's Lifeguards

This is based upon a number of eyewitness descriptions which refer to the blue coat turned up with red, the red waistcoat and the gold-laced hat. Evidence relating to an English volunteer named James Bradshaw mentions the shoulder belt mounted with tartan; and makes clear that the coat was full-skirted rather than in the short highland style; another volunteer, John Daniel, calls it a riding coat. There is no evidence that these uniforms were made up while the army was being formed in Edinburgh and they, like the Hussars' caps, were probably brought over from France.

Bradshaw seems to have lost his horse late in the campaign, for he fought on foot at Culloden, wearing highland dress — presumably with Lord Kilmarnock's Foot Guards. Daniel, by contrast, carried one of the regiment's standards, or rather a guidon captured from the 13th Dragoons. He describes it as 'a curious fine standard with this motto Britons Strike Home that was taken at Falkirk from Gardiners Dragoons'. Unfortunately, English cavalry standards of this time are very poorly documented, and no representations are known of those carried by the 13th Dragoons. Our reconstruction is based on the 1747 regulations, slightly modified to conform with what appears to have been the style prevailing the previous year. Since the motto is clearly regimental the guidon in question must have belonged to either the second or third squadron, and will have been green (the regimental facing colour) with its number on a red central compartment — this would presumably have been cut away before the guidon was re-issued to the Lifeguards.

Daniel brought the standard away from Culloden. When the regiment was disbanded at Ruthven Barracks he folded it into the pocket of his riding coat before heading for the West Coast

and a French ship. Though he himself escaped, the coat, and presumably the standard, was stolen by two men of the Irish Picquets who waylaid his servant.

Jacobite colours:

(4) Colonel's colour, Écossais Royal

This and the regimental colour must have been concealed by the officers when the French troops surrendered after Culloden, for although there are oblique references to the colours having been brought over, they were not among those captured. The regimental colour was identical except for having a blue field.

(5) Lord Ogilvy's Forfarshire Regiment

This colour also escaped capture and is presently displayed in a Dundee museum. It was for some time in the possession of the Kinloch family, and on the strength of that association has been linked with the second battalion, commanded by Sir James Kinloch. However, another colour taken at Culloden appears rather likelier to have been his, and this is more probably that of the first battalion. It is 5ft. 1in. x 5ft. 9in., made of silk poplin strengthened along the edges with a linen strip. The device and motto are slightly off-centre; although the field is now pale blue a photo of 1914 appears to show it as originally much darker.

(6) Frasers of Lovat

On 11 May 1746 Major Hu Wentworth signed for 14 Jacobite colours which he was to take to Edinburgh so that they could be burnt by the common hangman — see list in body of text. Two of them were camp colours; two others, staves from which colours had been stripped; but ten were described sufficiently for identification purposes. No. 10 on the list is 'A blew silk colours with the Lovat arms Sine Sanguine Victor'. It would not be unreasonable to expect Lovat's arms on a colour carried by the Frasers at Culloden; but the motto is not in fact his. Both motto, and in consequence the arms, must have been those of the Aberdeenshire laird Charles Fraser of Inveralloch, who led the regiment at Culloden. Left wounded on the field, he was summarily executed after the battle.

(7) Lord Kilmarnock's Foot Guards

No. 7 on Wentworth's list was a white silk colour 'with the Stewart's Arms, God Save King'. The colour is otherwise unidentified; but the bold display of the Royal Arms of Scotland

strongly suggests that it belonged to Kilmarnock's Foot Guards. Sadly, their performance at Culloden failed to live up either to their title or this magnificent colour. Comprising a mixture of dismounted cavalrymen and raw recruits, they appear to have fled without firing a shot. Kilmarnock himself made no attempt to rally them, and attempted to escape on horseback; he was captured by dragoons, and subsequently executed on Tower Hill.

(8) Cameron of Locheil's Regiment

This colour, saved from the battlefield, is in the possession of the present Cameron of Locheil. The central panel depicts a slightly different version of his arms to those borne today, and the colour probably dates to some years before Culloden; in 1689 Viscount Dundee's standard-bearer noted that the Camerons marched behind a 'ruddy banner' at the great gathering of the clans at Dalcomera.

(9) John Gordon of Glenbucket's Regiment

In 1895 this colour was in the possession of an un-named descendant of John Gordon of Glenbucket, and a photograph of it was published by the Spalding Club in that year. Its present whereabouts are unknown. The arms depicted are not Glenbucket's but those of the Marquis of Huntly, whose lieutenant-colonel Glenbucket had been in 1715.

Artist's note on figure 1, page 39, 'MI' No. 36:

The figure was reconstructed on the following principles. The man is a Gordon; and I have given him a belted plaid in Huntly tartan, which closely resembles Macrae, Ross, and one interestingly styled 'The Prince's Own' which has a genuine provenance going back to 1715. 'Tradition shows it to have been in use during a considerable portion of the (18th) century by such families as Gordon, Brodie and Forbes, or at least by members of these touched with Jacobitism, who appear to have assumed this tartan in common...' (notes by D. W. Stewart). The slight variations between the four tartans mentioned have been convincingly shown to have resulted from certain errors in recording throughout the 19th century. The tartan of the stockings is derived from so-called 'Dress MacRae' which — again according to D. W. Stewart — is an indirect reconstruction of a horse tartan of 1715 used by the Macraes, and thus quite possibly by Gordons as well.



1

3





James Drummond, Duke of Perth, by De Troy. He wears a red tartan suit with a dark brown or black pattern of overstripes, and gold embroidery. The plaid would normally be worn higher on the shoulder; otherwise this is a good illustration of the style of clothing worn by the rebels' 'high-priced help', the gold braiding which heavily encrusts the cuff, front and lower edge of his coat being a typical feature. Although largely obscured by his plaid his equipment comprises a red baldric edged silver and embroidered in gold supporting a broadsword; and holstered on it just above the sword is a pistol. A sporran and dirk sheath can also be seen in the original, hidden here in the shadow in the front of the body and under the plaid at right front respectively.

Perth raised a regiment in Perthshire and Edinburgh at the start of the rising. At Culloden he was given the hopeless task of persuading the left wing to charge across a bog. Although he escaped from the battlefield he died of exhaustion during the voyage to France. (Grimsthorpe & Drummond Castle Trust)

Lord Strathallan's Perthshire Squadron was the most senior unit, having been raised before Prestonpans. A muster roll survives dated 7 February 1746, which gives the squadron 82 officers and men in two troops. Most usefully, the designations or occupations of the men are given; 25 appear to be gentlemen, and six professional men, mainly lawyers; 20 are servants, while the remainder include tailors, wrights, slaters, shoemakers and other tradesmen; there is one man described as a labourer⁽⁷⁾. By 16 March there were, besides officers, one quartermaster, one sergeant and 50 troopers (including eight recruits). Lord Elcho is therefore perhaps a little optimistic in allowing them to be 70 strong at Culloden, although they may have picked up a few men from the disbanded Lord Pitsligo's Horse.

Witness statements suggest that the squadron was, like most Jacobite units, dressed in tartan. James Lindsay, for example, a shoemaker who served as an ensign in Oliphant of Gask's Troop, was described as wearing 'highland clothes'. He was armed with a broadsword, had pistols before him and wore a white cockade'. The highland clothes referred to presumably

comprised little more than a short tartan coat or waistcoat and a blue bonnet.

Elcho reckoned Bagot's Hussars to number about 60 men, but this may again be a little on the high side; nevertheless, as a cavalry officer he ought to have known what he was talking about. This troop had originally been raised in Edinburgh by John Murray of Broughton but it was actually commanded by a professional soldier in the French service, John Bagot, major in the Irish regiment Rooth; and a significant number of those known to have served in the unit came from the north-east of Scotland. They got off to a shaky start, but when Bagot took over he replaced the Lothian gentlemen originally appointed to command the two troops (one of whom had conveniently got himself captured at Clifton near Penrith, and the other received a staff appointment) with two other Irish officers, Captain Thomas Nowlan and a Captain Duchart or Docherty. Perhaps significantly, their lieutenants were Banffshire men, again presumably replacements for Lothian gentry. Bagot had no illusions about their fitness to stand in the line of battle and instead trained them very effectively as light cavalry or hussars. According to John Daniel, 'Bagot was of infinite service to the Prince, as also were his horse, for their conduct was daring and few of them would have scrupled to go to hell's gates to fetch away the keys.' For a time they were attached to James Moir of Stonywood's Aberdeen battalion and the two units appear to have had a very good working relationship, which may account for the Banffshire recruits. At Culloden, although posted in the rear, they must have been in the line of fire of one of the government batteries, for John Daniel afterwards recalled seeing the ground 'covered with the dead bodies of many of the Hussars', and Bagot himself was badly wounded.

While the overworked

Sketch map of the Jacobite army at Culloden; the basis of this interpretation is explained with Part 1 of this article in 'MI' No. 36. Key to Jacobite units:

Front line: (a) MacDonalds of Glengarry (b) MacDonalds of Keppoch (c) MacDonalds of Clanranald (d) Chisholms of Strathglas (e) McLachlans & McLeans (f) Monaltrie's Battalion (g) MacIntoshes (h) Frasers (i) Stewarts of Appin (j) Camerons (k) Atholl Brigade — three battalions in column.

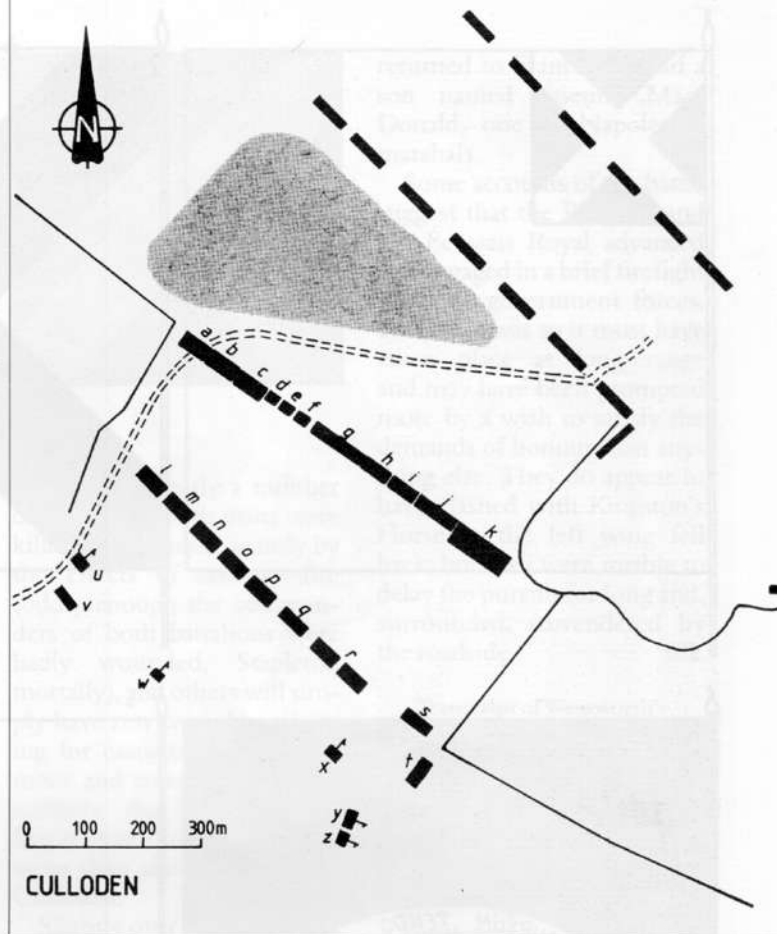
Second line: (l) Duke of Perth's Regiment (m) Glenbucket's Regiment (n) Irish Picquets (o) Écosais Royal (p) Kilmarnock's Foot Guards (q) John Roy Stuart's Regiment (r) Lord Ogilvie's Regiment — two battalions in square (s) Stonywood's Battalion (t) Gordon of Avochie's Battalion.

Others: (u) Lord Strathallan's Perthshire Horse (v) Sir Alexander Bannerman's Regiment (w) Escort Troop, Fitzjames's Horse (x) Bagot's Hussars (y) Fitzjames's Horse (z) Lord Elcho's Troop of Lifeguards.

Hussars appear to have cultivated a somewhat raffish air the Lifeguards by contrast undoubtedly saw their role as lending some tone to the proceedings. The names of some 111 Lifeguards are known, probably very nearly all of them, and unlike the other Jacobite cavalry regiments they were all of them gentlemen or their servants. Their superior status was underlined by their blue coats turned up with red, and a reluctance to undertake such menial duties as scouting, much to the exasperation of Lord John Drummond who earlier had them under his command on the Spey.

Originally they had comprised two troops, one commanded by Lord Elcho and the other by Lord Balmerino. Never very strong, the second troop had dwindled to nothing by the time the army reached Inverness, although some (according to John Daniel, the troop's standard bearer) formed an escort for the Prince at Culloden. Other sources state that this task was performed by a detachment of Fitzjames's Horse, however.

Elcho's troop by his own reckoning mustered only 30 men at Culloden, and was brigaded with Fitzjames's



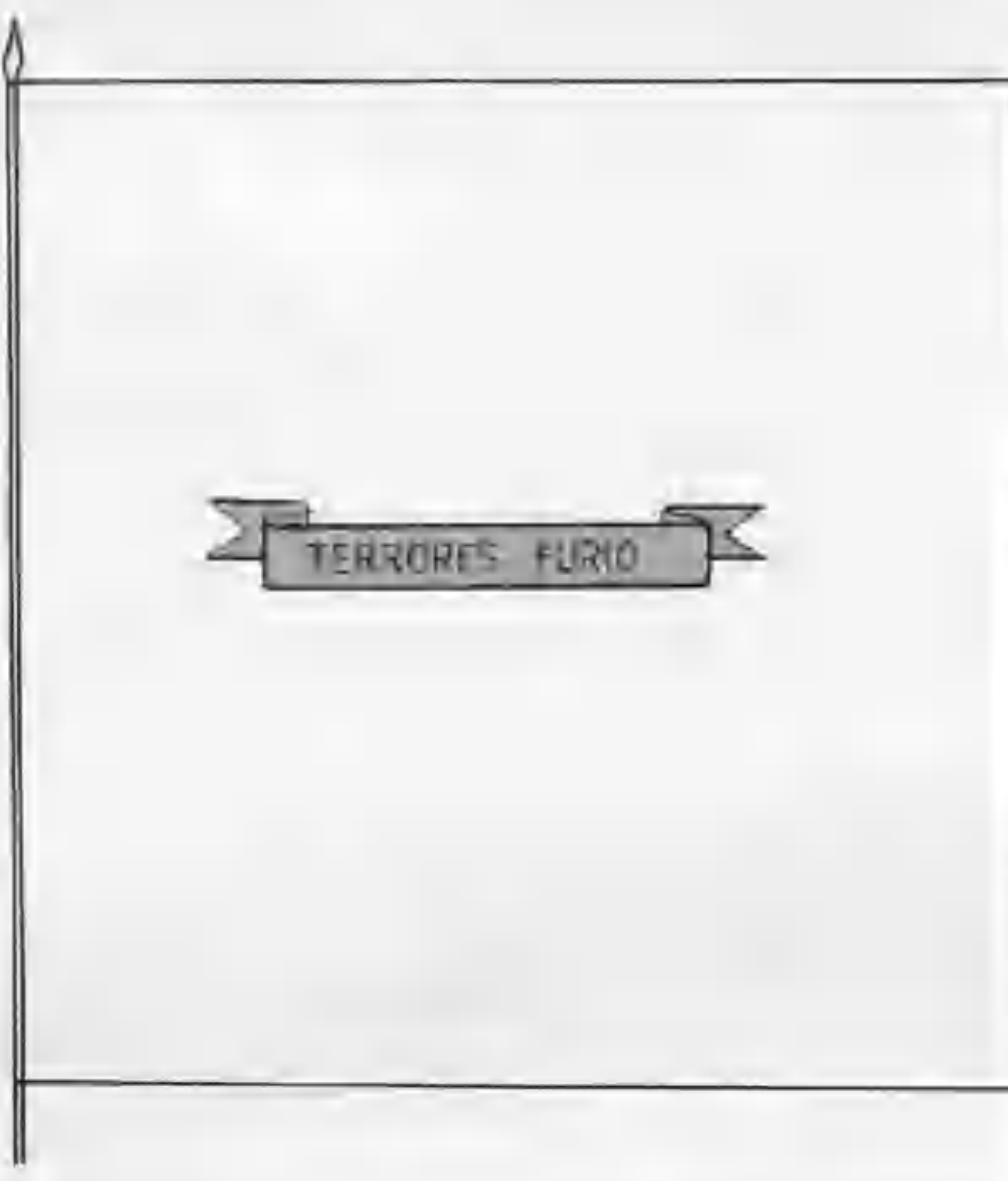
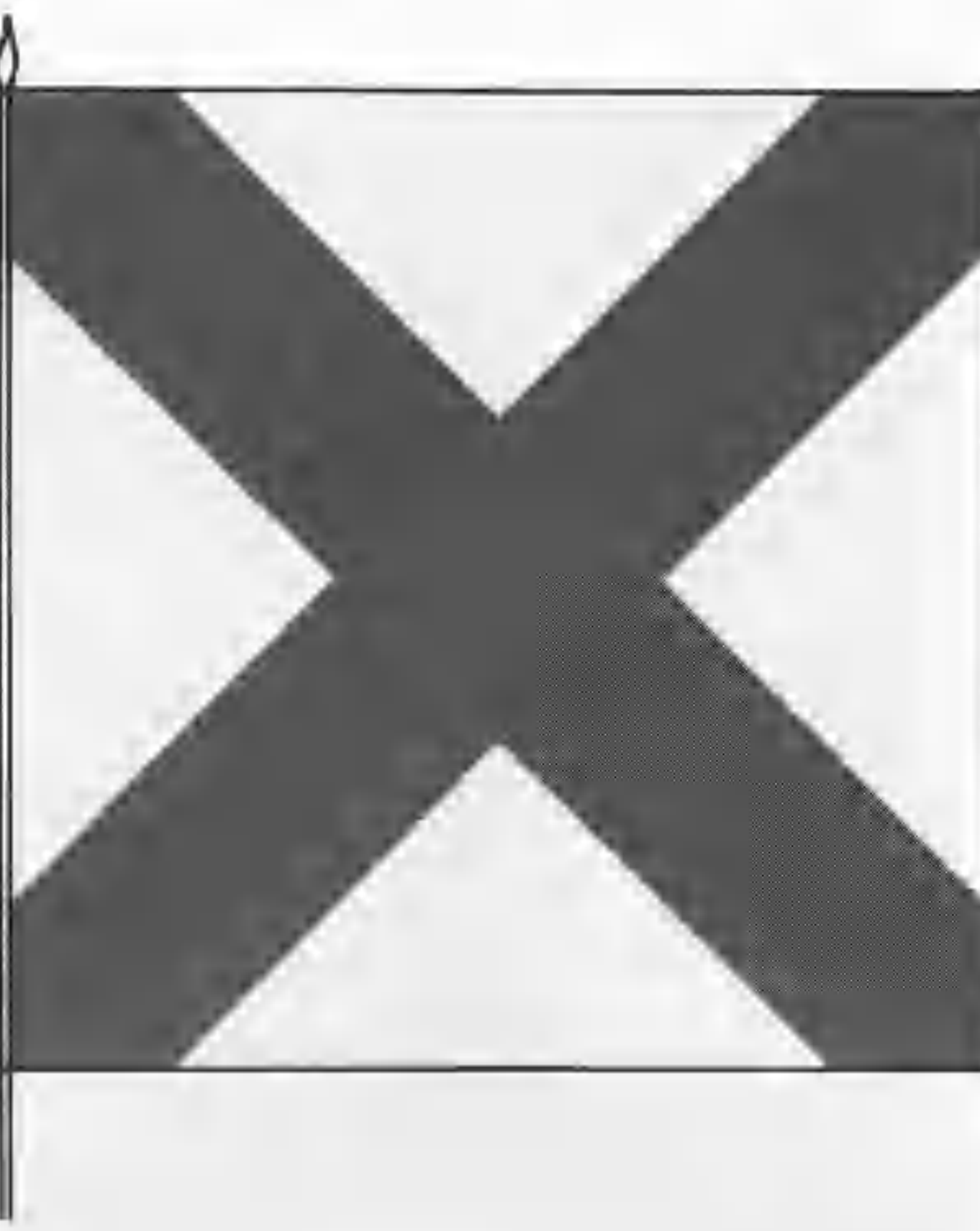
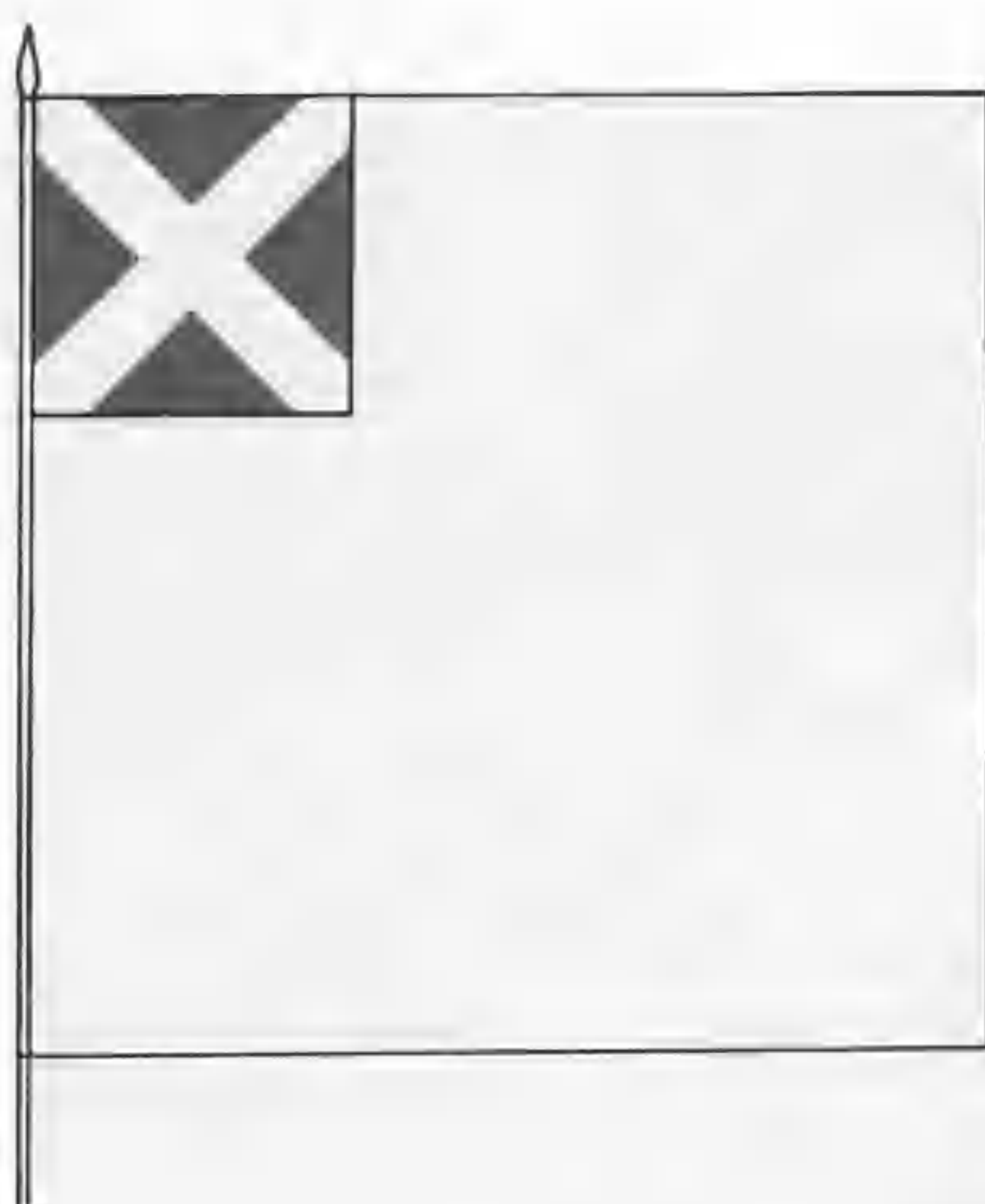
Horse. Posted on the right flank, they were involved in a brief firefight with some dragoons. Although heavily outnumbered they were at least well enough equipped for this role. Robert Strange, an Edinburgh engraver serving in the Lifeguard, recalled that earlier in the battle one of his comrades named Austin had his horse shot from under him. Nothing daunted he picked up his musket, took his pistols from the holsters, and stepped forward to join the infantry.

French troops

Fitzjames's Horse, for their part, were dressed in red coats turned up with blue, with buff waistcoat and breeches; these were regular soldiers belonging to the French army. An attempt was made to ship the whole regiment over to Scotland but most were captured at sea, and only a single squadron numbering about 130 men succeeded in landing at Aberdeen on 22 February 1746. Although they brought all their equipment with them, including their red saddle-housings trimmed with yellow, they had no horses, and

Lord Kilmarnock's Horse Grenadiers were therefore dismounted and their mounts turned over to Fitzjames's. Writing to Lord Pitsligo on 23 March 1746 Major Hale of the Écosais Royal requested some cavalry for reconnaissance duties; 'But as for Fitzjames's Horse they will be of no use to us here as they are too heavy and besides we must not wear out their horses at that exercise but keep them for a better occasion.' Only about 80 were mounted at Culloden, however, most of them brigaded with the Lifeguards and a detachment of 16 troopers accompanying the Prince. The remainder presumably fought on foot with the Irish Picquets.

The Picquets comprised detachments from four of the six regiments of the Irish Brigade serving with the French army. Their exact composition is a little uncertain, however, for apart from the officers only those men who had become separated from the battalion, either accidentally, having deserted from it, or having been recognised as deserters from the British



Top left: Colour, Sir Alexander Bannerman's Regiment. Unidentified on Wentworth's list (where it appears as No. 8), this white and blue colour may have belonged to this small unit raised in the Mearns. Bannerman's family arms bear such a colour upon them, the device alluding to his hereditary office as standard-bearer or 'banner-man' to the burgh of Aberdeen. Since it is a conventional device in Scottish heraldry, however, the resemblance may be coincidental. The regiment, probably no more than 100 strong, was posted in the left rear of the Jacobite army at Culloden, and when the rout began fled along the Inverness road.

Top right: Colour, Atholl Brigade. Nos. 9 and 11 on Wentworth's list were two white silk colours with a red and a blue saltire respectively. An anonymous eyewitness to the Jacobites' arrival at Derby in 1745 reported that many of their colours were white with red crosses. Since the Atholl Brigade was the first infantry formation to enter the town it is more than likely that No. 9 belonged to them; and if so, probably to Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Menzies of Shian, commander of the first battalion, since the tinctures are those of his arms. No. 11 displays the tinctures of Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Spalding of Glenkilrie, another Atholl Brigade officer.

Centre left: This — No. 4 in his list — is not identified by Wentworth, and the motto *Sursum Tendo* does not appear to be linked with any Jacobite family. It would, however, translate into the Kinloch motto 'Yet Higher'. Three brothers of this name served with the second battalion of Lord Ogilby's Regiment, one of them, Lieutenant Colonel Sir James Kinloch, commanding the battalion. The colour — blue with a white and black scroll — can therefore be attributed with some confidence to this well-disciplined lowland unit.

Centre right: Possible reconstruction of the colour of the Chisholms of Strathglas, in white linen on Wentworth's list, the scroll perhaps being gold? Mustering barely 80 men, the Chisholms were in effect no more than an independent company, although rather generously provided with officers. Casualties were also disproportionately heavy.

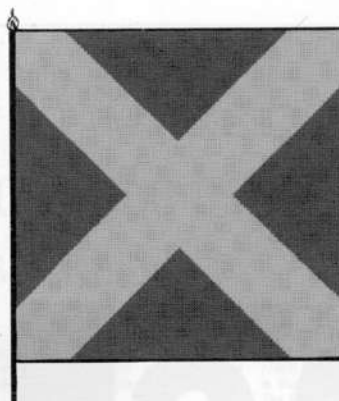
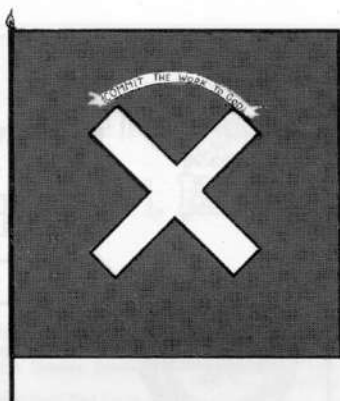
Bottom: A Guerin print, perhaps a little early for the '45, but giving an idea of the appearance of French infantry on campaign. Not all French officers wore their uniforms during the Culloden campaign. The Irish officers in particular felt uncomfortable in their red regimentals, for obvious reasons. Capt. Thomas McDermot of Rooft's Irish regiment stated that 'many French officers got highland clothes as a protection against the highlanders'; and Capt. James Burke of Clare's Regiment testified to doing the same.

Right:

Unidentified colour in blue silk, No. 12 on Wentworth's list; it presents a puzzle. In general appearance it seems to resemble the surviving colour of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment, but the motto is peculiar to the Sinclair family, none of whom were involved in the rebellion.

Far right:

Like the Atholl Brigade the Stewarts of Appin took for their colours the national badge of St. Andrew's Cross with its tinctures altered to conform to the Stewart arms — in their case a gold or yellow saltire on a blue field. Two colours belonging to this regiment were brought safely away from Culloden, and both are now on display in Edinburgh (one in the Castle and one in the National Museum of Antiquities). It is probable that, like the Camerons' colours and Glenbucket's, these date from some years before Culloden. James Philip of Almeriedose, in his *Grameid* (an epic Latin poem about the first Jacobite rising in 1689), mentions the Stewarts marching behind a gold-



contributed detachments to the battalion at Culloden there were also officers captured there belonging to Clare's and Bulkeley's regiments, a Captain O'Brien of the Paris Militia, and a Captain Douglas of the Regiment de Languedoc⁽⁶⁾.

All six of the Irish infantry regiments wore red coats; Dillon with black cuffs, Rooth with blue cuffs, lining and waistcoat, Lally with green cuffs and waistcoat, Berwick with white cuffs, lining and waistcoat. There is no evidence that the composite battalion carried colours in Scotland.

Standing next to the Picquets, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lord Lewis Drummond, were the blue-coated Écossais Royal. Frequently referred to as Lord John Drummond's Regiment, this was a regular unit of the French army raised in 1744. While partly recruited from amongst Jacobite exiles there a considerable proportion of the men were recruited in Scotland, chiefly in the highlands, which Lord John Drummond himself had visited at the head of a recruiting mission in 1744.

The regiment got ashore at various ports on the north-east coast of Scotland on or about 22 November 1745. Only about 60 men besides officers were captured at sea en route, but estimates vary as to how many of them were actually at Culloden. Some range as high as 300 men; but a headcount of the prisoners held by Cumberland's army after the battle revealed only 222 French captives, some of whom belonged to the Picquets as well as to the Écos-

sais Royal. Clearly a number of men from both units were killed or wounded, mainly by the effects of artillery fire (oddly enough the commanders of both battalions were badly wounded, Stapleton mortally), and others will simply have run away; but allowing for casualties left on the moor and runaways it seems unlikely that the Écossais Royal can have mustered more than about 200 men at Culloden.

Slightly over 50 other ranks belonging to the regiment are individually identified, usually as a result of some doubt arising as to whether or not they qualified for prisoner of war status. Twenty-six were Scots, of whom ten had been recruited after the regiment came over to Scotland in 1745; and a further eight were deserters, six from the British army and two from the Scots Brigade of the Dutch army. Five were English, including two deserters and a Catholic schoolmaster from Lancashire; nine were Irish, including three deserters; and no fewer than 14 were Frenchmen. All the British army deserters serving with this unit and with the Irish Picquets had gone over to the French army while they were in Flanders⁽⁷⁾. With some few exceptions the officers were all Scots. Some notable individuals were in the ranks of this regiment, among them Allan Breck Stewart, later to be implicated in the infamous Appin Murder (Stevenson's character was actually based upon John Roy Stuart, who had also been in the regiment before the rebellion); and Neil McEachain, who after helping to row the Prince over to Skye

returned to France and had a son named Etienne MacDonald, one of Napoleon's marshals.

Some accounts of the battle suggest that the Picquets and the Écossais Royal advanced and engaged in a brief firefight with the government forces, but if this was so it must have taken place at long range and may have been prompted more by a wish to satisfy the demands of honour than anything else. They do appear to have clashed with Kingston's Horse as the left wing fell back, but they were unable to delay the pursuit for long and, surrounded, surrendered by the roadside. **MI**

Transcript of Wentworth's list of the Colours taken at Culloden

Received from Lieutenant Colonel Napier the following Rebel colours, viz:-

1. On a staff a white linen colours belonging to the Farquharsons
 2. On a staff a white linen colours, motto *Terrores Furio*, Chisolmes
 3. On a staff a large plain white colours, said to be the standard
 4. On a staff a blue silk colours, *Sursum Tendo*
 5. A staff the colours tore off
 6. Do.
 7. On a staff a white silk colours with the Stewarts Arms *God Save King*
 8. On a staff a white silk colours, in the canton St. Andrew's cross
 9. On a staff a white silk with a red saltire
 10. A blew silk colours with the Lovat arms, *Sine Sanguine Victor*
 11. A white silk with a blue saltire
 12. Piece of blue silk with a St. Andrew saltire *Commit the Work to God*
 13. A white linen jaik with a red saltire
 14. One of Lord Lovat's camp colours
- Which colours I am to deliver to the Lord Justice Clerk at Edinburgh

Hu Wentworth
Inverness
May 11th 1746

(Private Collection — whereabouts unknown. Reprinted in Warden, Alex. J., *Angus or Forfarshire* (Dundee 1880) Vol. III p.252)

Notes:

- (6) *The Lyon in Mourning*, p.215
- (7) Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, pp.53-55
- (8) *Ibid* pp.38, 135-138
- (9) *Ibid* p.61-3

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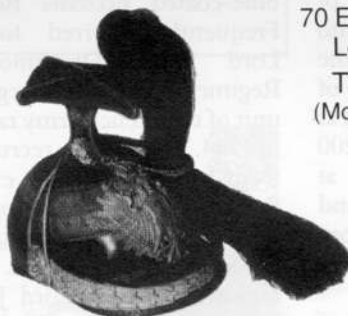
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Tadeusz Kosciuszko

DAVID T. ZABECKI
Paintings by RICHARD HOOK



Tadeusz Kosciuszko was an unlikely military figure. He was modest, unassuming, even shy; yet he became one of the major heroes of the American Revolution, as well as the symbol of national independence in his native Poland.

Kosciuszko (pronounced Kawsh-choosh'-ko) was born on 12 February 1746, to an impoverished family of the Polish minor nobility. As the youngest of four children his prospects were limited and he was expected to make his own way in the world. The three traditional paths were the church, the army, or finding a rich wife: Kosciuszko chose the army.

With the help of a family friend Kosciuszko secured an appointment to the Royal Military School in Warsaw⁽¹⁾. He entered in 1765 and passed out the following year as First King's Cadet. In 1769 he received a special royal scholarship to continue his military education in France. He first attended the École Militaire in Paris, and later studied military engineering and artillery at Mézières. While he was abroad, however, Poland was subjected to the first of its par-

titions at the hands of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. When Kosciuszko returned home in 1774 he found there was no room for him in the rump army allowed to Poland by the partitioning powers. Borrowing money from his brother-in-law, Kosciuszko returned to France.



Kosciuszko in America

Kosciuszko was not among the European officers recruited for the Americans in Paris by Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane. On his own, apparently, he arrived in Philadelphia in August 1776, the first major foreign volunteer to the American cause⁽²⁾. Initially he

worked on the defences around Philadelphia as a civilian engineer. That October the Continental Congress commissioned him a colonel and assigned him as Chief Engineer of the Northern Army under Maj.Gen. Horatio Gates.

Kosciuszko arrived at Fort Mifflin just before its capture by the British forces under General John Burgoyne. During the American retreat from the fort Kosciuszko directed the rear-guard actions that slowed 'Gentleman Johnnie's' troops down to a crawl of one mile per day. When Burgoyne ran out of steam and Gates went onto the counterattack, the American commander sent his Chief Engineer ahead with several hundred sappers to select and prepare the position to block and trap Burgoyne.

Kosciuszko picked a spot

artificial obstacles. Burgoyne tried to broach the position on 19 September 1777, and again on 7 October. Kosciuszko's works held; and the American victory at Saratoga proved to be the turning point of the war. Commenting later on the decisive battle, Gates said, 'Let us be honest... the great tacticians of the campaign were the hills and forests which a young Polish engineer was skillful enough to select for my encampment⁽³⁾'.

After Saratoga, Kosciuszko designed and built West Point, the powerful fortress on the Hudson that today is the home of the US Military Academy. Much of his energy was taken up in overcoming the shortages of clothing and rations for his work force as well as for the small number of prisoners of war in his charge. He often shared his personal rations with the starving British prisoners⁽⁴⁾.

In the final years of the American Revolution Kosciuszko served as Chief Engineer in the Southern Army under Maj.Gen. Nathaniel Greene. During Greene's dramatic race to the Dan River against Lord Cornwallis in February 1781, Kosciuszko designed and built a fleet of wagons with detachable wheels and axles that could rapidly be converted into flat-bottomed boats capable of carrying guns, horses, and equipment over the inland waterways of the South. With Kosciuszko's wagons, Greene's force was able to get across the Dan, escaping almost certain annihilation at the hands of Cornwallis.

Throughout the war Kosciuszko consistently shunned promotion. He was all too sensitive to the resentment among most American officers of the often politically inspired promotions of the European volunteers. To a friend he once wrote '...tell the General that I will not accept [a promotion] because I prefer peace more than the greatest rank in the world'⁽⁵⁾. Thanks to his lack of personal ambition he sat in the rank of colonel longer than almost any other officer in the Continental Army. In October 1783, with

Kosciuszko was painted several times during his life, and posthumously. One painting of him as he is supposed to have appeared in 1794 was by Antoni Oleszczynski, who later engraved a print (1829); this version, engraved by W. Hall, may be an accurate copy of the print — but either Oleszczynski or Hall romanticised the features at some point. In essentials, however, they resemble those shown in several life portraits, the best probably being that by Aleksander Orłowski, a participant in the 1794 uprising; there is also a striking profile of the hero in retirement at Solothurn, 1815-17, by Walerj Radzikowski. He is shown here as the Naczelnik, decorated with the Knight's Cross of the Order of Virtuti Militari, and below it the badge of the Society of the Cincinnati, an association of former officers of the Continental Army; the silver eagle is suspended from a dark blue ribbon with narrow white sidestripes. (US Library of Congress)

near Saratoga. He laced the area with redoubts and entrenchments, and skillfully blended them in with the natural terrain features. He placed the main concentration of guns on Bemis Heights, where the American artillery could cover all the avenues of approach and all natural and



A Prayer Before The Battle of Racławice', a romantic reconstruction by Josef Chelmonski which nevertheless gives a probably convincing general impression of the appearance of the Krakow militia. (National Museum, Wrocław)

the war over, the Congress finally promoted him to brigadier general.

The Naczelnik

When Kosciuszko returned to Poland in July 1784 he carried a voucher from the Continental Congress promising to pay him at some time in the future \$12,286 — almost seven years' back pay. He spent his first five years back in his homeland in rural semi-retirement as just another impoverished nobleman. Then, in 1789, the spirit of Polish independence started to rise once again. The Polish army expanded and its young and inexperienced commander, Prince Jozef Poniatowski⁽⁶⁾, offered Kosciuszko the post of second-in-command with the rank of major general.

The new Polish army beat

the Russians at Zielence on 18 June 1792. At Dubienka the following month the Poles found themselves greatly outnumbered, but Kosciuszko's skillful withdrawal saved the army from destruction. King Stanislaus Augustus rewarded him with the *Virtuti Militari*, Poland's highest decoration, and promotion to lieutenant general. A few months later, however, the king caved in to Russian political pressure and called a halt to the resistance. Kosciuszko, along with most of the senior Polish commanders, went into exile in protest, and the Second Partition of Poland followed in 1793.

Kosciuszko returned to Poland once more on 24 March 1794. In the ancient capital of Krakow he proclaimed a revolution and took command of the army. Invested with the powers of a benevolent dictator (the *Naczelnik*), Kosciuszko used his influence to give the Polish Revolution a distinctively

American, rather than a fratricidal French character. Kosciuszko personally wrote the Act of Insurrection, patterning it closely after America's Declaration of Independence.

On 3 April 1794 Kosciuszko won a stunning victory at Racławice by personally leading an attack of peasants armed with scythes against the main Russian artillery. On 6 June he was defeated at Szczekociny by the last-moment arrival of Prussian troops in support of their Russian allies. From 13 July to 6 September he successfully held off a siege of Warsaw by 90,000 Prussian and Russian troops with only 35,000 of his own. Despite these successes the vastly outnumbered Poles could not hold out forever. On 10 October, at Maciejowice, an 18,000-man Russian force decisively defeated 8,500 Poles, crushing their revolution. Kosciuszko, severely wounded by a lance thrust in

the thigh and a sabre blow to the head, ended up in a Russian prison. The Third Partition followed in 1795; and Poland disappeared from the map for the next 123 years.

The Martyr of Liberty

Kosciuszko spent two years in Russian jails. When Catherine the Great died her son, Paul I, offered Kosciuszko his freedom on the condition he never return to Poland. Kosciuszko refused at first, demanding the release of 12,000 other Polish prisoners. Paul agreed, and began to treat his crippled prisoner as a great hero. He lavished gifts upon Kosciuszko, offered him a vast Russian estate, and deposited a large sum of money to his credit in a French bank. Kosciuszko never touched the money⁽⁷⁾.

Kosciuszko left Russia in 1797 and went to England by way of Sweden. To his amazement he was hailed as a hero every step of the way; even Britain lionized its old opponent as 'the Martyr of Liberty'.

The British king sent a team of doctors, headed by his personal physician, to examine and treat Kosciuszko's still unhealed wounds. The Whig Club in London presented him with an engraved sword⁽⁸⁾.

The veteran revolutionary returned to America in August 1797. Congress finally gave him his back pay and also awarded him 500 acres of public land, but he only stayed in America less than a year. He left for France in 1798 to try to get help from the revolutionary government for the Polish cause. Before he left America he made arrangements for his close friend, Thomas Jefferson, to use his American assets to buy the freedom of black slaves and provide them with an education. The resulting Coloured School in Newark, New Jersey, was one of the first educational institutions for blacks in North America.

Kosciuszko's final years were frustrating. First the revolutionary government, and then Napoleon strung him along. In 1815 Kosciuszko attended the Congress of Vienna, hoping to see Poland restored. What he saw instead was the creation of 'Congress Poland, in personal union with Russia' — a Russian province, in other words. Tsar Alexander I hoped to make the whole thing palatable to the Poles by making Kosciuszko the Viceroy. Kosciuszko refused⁽⁹⁾.

Kosciuszko died in exile in Solothurn, Switzerland, on 15 October 1817. His body was taken back to Krakow and buried with the Polish kings in the crypt of the cathedral at Wawel Castle. It lies there today beneath a bronze plaque from the US Congress commemorating the 200th anniversary of Saratoga. Thomas Jefferson gave perhaps the best appraisal of this

most unusual military man when he wrote: 'He is as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few or rich alone.'⁽¹⁰⁾ **MI**

Notes:

- (1) Prince Kazimierz Czartoryski of the powerful magnate family.
- (2) Several historians have argued that Kosciuszko probably had a letter of introduction from his patron, Prince Czartoryski, to General Charles Lee, a former British officer who was the second ranking general in the American army in 1776. Czartoryski and Lee knew each other well; between 1765 and 1770 Lee had served in the Polish army, and held a general's commission from the king; Haiman, Miciclaus, *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution*. Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America (New York: 1943), pp. 6-9.
- (3) Harvard University Library, *Papers of Jared Sparks* ser. 49, vol. I, fol. 71.
- (4) Haiman, *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution*, pp. 97-98.
- (5) New York Historical Society, *Papers of Major General Horatio Gates*, box 9, no. 20.
- (6) Poniatowski later became one of Napoleon's marshals.
- (7) Haiman, Miciclaus, *Kosciuszko: Leader and Exile*. Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America (New

York: 1943), p. 32.

(8) Carey's Daily Advertiser, Philadelphia, 12 August 1797.

(9) Kosciuszko to Jefferson, Solothurn, April 1816, *Tadeusz Kosciuszko & Thomas Jefferson: Korespondencja (1798-1817)*, ed. by Jozef Paszkowski, pp. 134-5. Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy (Warsaw, Poland: 1976).

(10) Jefferson, Thomas, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Andrew Lipscomb, vol. IX, P 441 (Washington, DC: 1904).

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Richard Hook's reconstructions on the back cover show Kosciuszko (top right) as Colonel, and Chief Engineer to Maj.Gen. Nathaniel Greene, commanding the southern forces of the American Continental Army, spring 1781. No reliable portrait from life survives showing him in Continental uniform; that depicted was the regulation dress for officers of the Corps of Engineers under the order of June 1780 — a dark blue coat lined red and faced buff, with buff smallclothes, gold buttons, and gold epaulettes (in pairs for field officers). Period portraits of other officers show a wide variety of coat details: the elongated upper lapel points were sometimes worn buttoned over, sometimes (as here) under the collar; it was fashionable to leave many lapel buttons unfastened; epaulettes were of various designs, though large flat 'knots' on the shoulder point seem to have been at least as popular as crescents; pockets were normally set in the side of the body, horizontal, with three-point flaps sometimes showing a narrow line of buff lining at the lower edge; the middle two of four pocket buttons were sometimes set visible, below the flap edge. The plain cocked hat bears the double black and white cockade of the French alliance worn from c. July 1780; a typical smallsword and riding boots are reconstructed.

(Below left) Kosciuszko as commander-in-chief during the Polish Uprising of 1794. He wears the improvised uniform of an officer of the Krakow militia. Legend has it that he preferred peasant costume to an elaborate general's uniform; this was at least partly because the revolution was running short of funds, and Kosciuszko wanted to encourage widespread use of peasant clothing to reduce the cost of uniforms. The Krakow militia is firmly linked in Polish national mythology with the most famous incident of the Kosciuszko Uprising: the charge of the scythe-armed infantry on the Russian artillery at Racławice. The improvised nature of their uniform is clear from the archives. In May 1794 officials ordered the Krakow battalion to be put into 'any sort of uniform'; they received white sukman coats, as worn by local peasants, and red, square-topped rogatywka caps. The sukman and 1784 regulation rogatywka illustrated here both survive in Polish collections and are traditionally associated with Kosciuszko in person. The soft cap later developed into the more rigid rogatywka or czapka worn by lancers throughout Europe in the 19th century. He also gave his name to this type of sabre, a kosciuszkwowka.



A scythe-armed peasant of the militia led successfully by Kosciuszko in 1794. This sketch, signed 'A.O.' and dated 1794, was probably made during the siege of Warsaw (July-September 1794) by Aleksander Orlowski. Such realistic studies of soldiers are extremely rare for this period. (National Museum, Warsaw)

Tadeusz Kosciuszko



Colonel & Chief Engineer,
America, 1781

Naczelnik,
Poland, 1794